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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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Pro-Slavery.

NEW-YORK STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The 12th Anniversary of this Society was recently held in this city. From the report of the speeches, published in the African Repository, much the larger part of the time seems to have been occupied in warm tirades against the Abolitionists. We can, without wincing, afford to give them this consolation, almost the only one that's left them now. I give below some of their speeches, that Abolitionists may know what very wicked people they are, in opposing a scheme which might in "fifty years" have accomplished,—"who can say," how much? The Southern gentlemen seem particularly grieved at the injury done the slaves' cause by the "fanatics," though Dr. Winans, who, on the floor of the Methodist Conference, defied,—perhaps the very day of this meeting, —any one to prove that Slavery was wrong, rejoices that the door, which "the misguided efforts of the abolitionists" had shut, is again opened. The Rev. Dr. *may* be very honest in defending Slavery in the Conference, and praying with a sanctified air for its abolition in the Colonization meeting, but it *looks* to my unsanctified and unregenerate common sense, very much like unvarnished, barefaced hypocrisy—not even cunning enough to make a show of truth.

Rev. Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, said he came from the far South, not as a speaker, but as a *witness*, to bear testimony to the North, that this Society, so far from having a tendency to rivet the chains of Slavery, was the very agency that was finding its way to the hearts and consciences of Slaveholders, and preparing the way for the safe and certain emancipation of the slaves. He had been connected with slavery for twenty years, and while intimately conversant with the subject, he had seen no means by which the country could be delivered from this connection. The desire had long glowed in his bosom that something might be done, but he had no hope, except as he relied on that Providence that can make the wrath of man, and the most refractory means to work out his purposes of mercy. In 1824 he saw this Society rising in the distance, and his heart leaped for joy, as its wisdom and philanthropy and efficiency appeared. Here was a plan that would infallibly result in wiping from the entire soil of America every speck of the pollution of Slavery. So the South thought twenty years ago, and the halls of their Legislatures echoed with the noble efforts of their sons to urge on a scheme that promised such great results. And out of these halls, and among the masses of the community, the opinion prevailed that at last a door was open for the removal of Slavery. And why are we now so far from the result so fervently desired? I need not tell you. Some men at the North with more zeal or less foresight than the friends of this cause, opposed the system; raised the cry of immediate emancipation, and with the spirit of wild denunciation, roused the hostility of the South, and the natural consequence was to check the progress then making toward emancipation, to silence all legislative action, and to close every door that had been opened for the escape of the Slave—no, there was one way, that of stealing the Slave, which was still pursued by these men, but which he presumed was not a favorite mode with those whom he was addressing. But now there is a reviving tendency under the genial influence of this Colonization principle, and planters are inquiring in reference to it, and one here and another there is preparing his slaves for freedom, and thousands of Southern men who would glory in any plan that would secure the entire removal of Slavery, are now looking to this Society with bright hopes. The door that had been shut by the misjudged efforts of the Abolitionists is again opened; and the South is beginning to understand that *Abolitionists* are not the North or the East, but a little fraction, a few fanatics who dare not look the truth in the face, and who are enemies of every scheme that has wisdom and prudence to recommend it. The Colonization system meets the case, and receives the approbation of the wise and good.

Rev. Dr. Parker, of Philadelphia, said he did not know that Mr. Winans was in the city, till he rose to speak, but he had known him at the South, and if those present had heard him preaching to the colored people as Dr. Parker had, they would have enjoyed even more, the testimony which he had now borne.

In the few remarks he should make, he would state some of the prominent *objections* to the Colonization Society, but he could not stay to answer them

After mentioning several, he continued:

Another objection to this Society is, that it is overturning the slave system so silently, that no one can have any glory in its overthrow. Some people want to "surround" the slaveholders and put them down and set the slaves free and have a triumph. But this cause works quietly. A slaveholder once said to me, "We are not afraid of the Abolitionists; they come in arms, and the whole South is arrayed against them. But your Colonization men insinuate your notions into our people, and one planter after another liberates his slaves, and everybody around grows uneasy, and it must be stopped. We can't stand it." So it is; the influence of this principle is from heart to heart; the conscience is awakened; the work is advancing; it will be done, and there will be no triumph.

It is said the Society never can remove all the blacks. Well, what if it can't. It has done something already, and who can say what may be done in the next fifty years. It would be quick work if it were all done in that time. And we are not going on in this slow way forever. In less than that time every rag of sail may be driven from the ocean, and in the place of sails, we may see the engine, like a giant, chained and urged by torturing fire, thundering over the ocean, to bear the sons and daughters of Africa to a happy home.

Rev. Mr. Slicer, of Baltimore, said that a few years ago the Legislature of Virginia was on the very point of taking measures to make that a free State; the subject was discussed with open doors, the most learned statesmen boldly advocated the scheme, and the thing was in a fair way of being successful. The *abolition* movement at the North blasted the scheme in the very bud; and so far did the popular sentiment rise against it, that a book, containing the substance of the speeches made in the Legislature, was burnt, (a whole pile of them,) in the streets of Richmond.

But this scheme of Colonization is a very *innocent* one certainly, and what right any man has to oppose it, I can't for the life of me see. If a man wants to go to Africa, is there any more harm in helping him to the means of going there, than if he wants to go to London? If Mr. Seys, or the Secretary of this Society chooses to go to Africa with fifty colored men, and to give each of them a nice little farm there, where they may be rich and happy, is it not just as proper as for Mr. Garrison to go to London with fifty colored men to a "World's Convention," to break the shackles of all the earth? A *freeman* has a right to go where he pleases, and he who puts a straw in his way, interferes with his rights.

Mr. Slicer pursued this thought with great felicity, and demonstrated most effectually and happily, the wantonness and cruelty of those who undertake to prevent the colored people from enjoying the blessings which this Society is ready to bestow, and in conclusion he looked forward with confidence to the time as not distant when we should see all along the coast of Africa, bright and glorious lights, should hear the voice of her people going up in thanksgiving to God, and prayer for blessings on the men who have prepared the way for her moral and political regeneration.

From the Evangelist.

ULTRAISMS.

Marlboro' Chapel has been the scene of much harmless folly. The meetings of the Garrisonian free discussion party opened on Tuesday, and were continued three times a day, with but one or two postponements, during the week. In the intervals of other Anniversaries, we occasionally dropped in upon this headless body, and once caught Messrs. Burleigh, Foster, & Co. catechising Rev. Mr. Pierpont. The Chapel was well filled, the walls were hung with placarded anathemas of the Constitution and the Union, and the assembly gave undoubted tokens of having recently been convulsed with laughter.

"Well, Mr. Pierpont, would you support the Constitution wherein it is morally wrong?"

"By no means, sir; I repudiate all crime."

"Would you, then," continued the catechiser, "if elected to the Presidency——"

"God forbid. Pray, don't intimate such a possibility."

"Well, sir, in the abstract supposition of the matter, would you support the enactments of the Constitution, which require the President to secure slaveholders in the possession of human chattels?"

"First, sir, I deny the fact; secondly, the obligation; and thirdly, I repudiate the whole. I contend, that the Constitution recognizes no property in human flesh; and that if it did, it would be a nullity, because the best jurists have decided that covenants cannot recognize a moral wrong, and the obligation to abide by the terms of a covenant is null and void in any matter that is vicious or criminal."

"Yes, Mr. Pierpont; but suppose you subscribed to the federal oath, conscious at the time that you were obligating yourself to defend slavery? How then?"

"I can't make my interrogators understand that a nothing is a nullity; and that an obligation to do a moral wrong, being a nullity, is really no obligation at all."

"Suppose, Mr. Pierpont, you bound yourself to dust a man's coat, polish his boots, and commit murder."

"The contract," replied he, "would be coercive in the line of coats and boots, and vacant in that of murder."

"Suppose the murder was specified, with all the circumstances of time, place, and individual?"

"That would not alter the case."

"But suppose you subscribed the contract, knowing that it was a moral wrong?"

Mr. Pierpont, evidently uneasy at the pertinacity of his opponents, turned his head into a full stream of sunlight, which came through an upper window down to the pulpit, and then starting aside and winking pretty broadly to recover from the dazzle, resumed—"My friends, there's altogether too much light upon this subject." This hit was received with a spontaneous burst of applause, at the close of which the casuists resumed their luminous and useful controversy.

We need not pursue it. When the interest and patience began to flag, the Hutchinsons would come forward and sing a song: and occasionally there was a little brush of words between the disputants. Abby Folsom, having made too free with her tongue, was silently voted an incorrigible lunatic, and forcibly removed on individual responsibility from the assembly. Thus they proceeded to discuss, with small wit and shallow analysis, various cases of conscience, and the fundamental axioms of right and law. The influence of their flippant and superficial philosophy is to unsettle a hundred in practice, while it establishes not one in principle or sound ethics. In the issue, the federal Union was dissolved by these new-light philanthropists, the Constitution proclaimed a heretical document, and clergymen were again reckoned in the category of thieves and robbers. The whole was a pitiable spectacle of human infirmity, and monomania, made palateable by the excitement of warm disputation and empty logic, but offensive by its doltish stupidity and its ludicrous insolence.

Yours, M

The Church.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

Preamble and Resolutions, prepared and offered by Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem, and adopted by the American Unitarian Association, at an adjournment of its Annual Meeting, Friday, May 31st, 1844.

Whereas, in the course of the year preceding the last Annual Meeting, upon the application of a Unitarian Society in a slaveholding State, a minister of unexceptionable character and qualifications was appointed by the Executive Committee of this Association to perform the duties of a Christian teacher and pastor to the said Society, and it was agreed by the Executive Committee that the expense of supporting the said minister should be defrayed in part by this Association: and whereas, the said minister upon reaching the field of his labors, was not permitted to engage in the duties of the office to which he had been appointed; and whereas, the officers of the said Society, in a public circular, have seen fit to place their justification in this proceeding upon the ground, that the said minister was supposed to entertain and to have publicly expressed opinions adverse to the institution of Slavery; and whereas, the Executive Committee, upon being informed of this proceeding of the officers of said Society, promptly gave notice to them, that in view of this proceeding no farther steps would be taken in reference to the appointment of a minister for the said Society; and whereas, this Association deems it its duty to review this extraordinary proceeding in the particulars which have been referred to, and to express its opinion upon the ground of action assumed by the officers of said society, and the measures adopted by the Executive Committee; and whereas, the consideration of this subject was commenced by this Association at the last Annual Meeting, but not then concluded, and it is therefore necessary that it should now be prosecuted to final action, therefore,

Resolved, That while it is not deemed within the province of this Association, in the course of its ordinary proceedings, to entertain any question, or to adopt any measure in relation to the institution of Slavery, it is felt to be a duty, under the extraordinary circumstances of the case before us to deliberate calmly and solemnly upon the subject as thus presented for our consideration, and to declare and record the result of our deliberations.

Resolved, That in the consideration of this subject, we recognize the obligation devolving upon us, as a Christian Association, to proceed upon Christian principles, and in a Christian spirit, and to make it our single object to "speak the truth in Love."

Resolved, That, viewing the institution of Slavery in the light of Christianity, we cannot fail to perceive that it conflicts with the natural rights of human beings, as the equal children of a common father, and that it subverts the fundamental principles of Christian Brotherhood.

Resolved, That in the necessary effects of slavery upon the personal, and social condition, and upon the moral and religious character of all affected by it, we perceive an accumulation of evils, over which Christianity must weep, against which Christianity should remonstrate, and for the removal of which Christianity appeals to the hearts and consciences of all disciples of Jesus, to do what they can, by their prayers, by the indulgence and expression of their sympathy, and by the unremitting and undisguised exertion of whatever moral and religious influence they may possess.

Resolved, That in conformity to the views which have been expressed in the foregoing Resolutions, it is impossible for this Association to recognize the principle, that, in the case of any minister or missionary who may be aided or employed by the Executive Committee, it should be deemed a disqualification for the performance of the appropriate duties of his office in any section of the country, that he is supposed, or known to entertain, and to have publicly expressed opinions adverse to the institution of Slavery; and that accordingly this Association approve and ratify the proceedings of the Executive Committee in the case which has been under consideration, and recommend the adoption of similar measures, in any similar case which may hereafter occur.

Resolved, That we commend this expression of our views to the candid and serious consideration of the Society, the proceedings of whose officers has furnished the occasion for the adoption of these Resolutions, and that we hereby assure them, that, in thus attempting to discharge the Christian duty of remembering those in bonds as bound with them, we have equally at heart the best interests of our brethren, upon whom, as much as upon ourselves, rests the responsibility of illustrating the practical tendencies of the precious faith, to which we all owe a common attachment.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE CONVENTION OF UNIVERSALISTS.

Session at Worcester, 1844.—Charles Spear, of Boston, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That as Universalism is inconsistent with Slavery, we cannot acknowledge any one to be a Universalist, who willingly and wilfully holds his fellow-man in bondage, or willingly and wilfully apologizes for the enormous evil.

S. Cobb, of Boston, offered the following preamble and resolutions, as a substitute for Br. Spear's:—

Whereas, The system of American slavery is utterly inconsistent with the principles of our holy faith as Universalist Christians, especially in that it hinders our labors and defeats our prayers for the universal diffusion of knowledge, and the instruction and elevation of *mind*, by crushing and cramping the intellect with laws which prohibit education—therefore—

Resolved, That when we thank God for the blessings vouchsafed to us and our children of general education, and of Christian culture in particular—and when we pray for the extension of these blessings throughout our land and the world—if we look with favor on the institution of Slavery, these prayers are *mockery*.

Resolved, That it is clearly our duty as Universalists, to be working by a mighty Christian influence upon the great community of mind, to the removal of this mammoth evil from our land.

This substitute, after being discussed, was adopted with great unanimity—there being but one dissenting vote.

The Christian Freeman and Family Visiter, edited by Mr. Cobb, from which the above resolutions are taken, has the following paragraph in relation to them:

BROTHER SPEAR'S RESOLUTION,—AGAIN.

We did not read the official minutes of the Massachusetts Convention, until we read them in proof, after our remarks on the subject in a preceding column were in print. The words "Willingly and wilfully" never struck our apprehension till we saw them in print. They render inapplicable our main reasons offered for an amendment, and most of the arguments offered in the Convention against the original resolution, as well as those we have offered in this paper. Is it possible that those words were in the resolution as repeatedly read in that body, and we caught no sound of them,—and that no one on the other side should have detected the total inapplicability of all the reasons against it, if it were expressed as it is now?

But we have not room for another word now. More hereafter.

PRESBYTERY OF CINCINNATTI.

Presbytery met in the Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, April 4, 1844.

Messrs. Blanchard and Allen were appointed a committee on the printed minutes of the General Assembly. The following is the Report adopted by Presbytery.

Printed Minutes of General Assembly of 1843.

Resolved, That Presbytery highly approve and recommend to the consideration of our Churches the Assembly's resolution on dancing, in the words following, to wit:

That the fashionable amusement of promiscuous dancing is so entirely unscriptural and eminently and exclusively that of the world that lieth in wickedness, and so wholly inconsistent with the spirit of Christ, and that propriety of Christian deportment, and that purity of heart which his followers are bound to maintain, as to render it not only improper and injurious for professing Christians either to partake in it, or to qualify their children for it, by teaching them the art, but to call for the faithful and judicious exercise of discipline on the part of Church Sessions, when any members of their churches have been guilty.

Resolved, 2*dly*, That the Assembly's action in reference to the practice of slaveholding is not satisfactory to this Presbytery: and we feel it our duty to our churches to express our disapprobation, both of the action itself, and the principles on which said action seems to have been based, to wit:

The resolution of the Assembly presented by Dr. Dickinson, in the words following:

Whereas, there is in this Assembly great diversity of opinion as to the proper mode of action on the subject of Slavery; and, whereas, in such circumstances, any expression of sentiment would carry with it but little weight, as it would be passed by a small majority, and must operate to produce alienation and division; and, whereas, the Assembly of 1839, with great unanimity, referred the whole subject to the lower Judicatories to take such order, as, in their judgment, might be adopted to remove the evil; therefore,

Resolved, That the Assembly do not think it for the edification of the Church for this body to take any action on the subject.

This Presbytery do not approve of the above action of the Assembly:

1st. Because it is the opinion of Presbytery that the Assembly ought to have condemned the sin of slaveholding.

2d. Because the reference of the subject of Slavery by the Assembly of 1839 is alledged as the ground of their advice in 1843. Whereas an intervening Assembly, to wit, in 1840, did resume jurisdiction of the question of Slavery, and requested certain Presbyteries, and among them the Presbytery of Cincinnati, to *rescind their resolution condemning the practice of slaveholding*, we therefore see no propriety of going back to the action of the Assembly of '39, which was, in effect, rescinded the following year, to justify the Assembly of '43 in refusing to condemn the practice of slaveholding.

3d. Because while the Assembly did not "think it for the edification of the church to take any action on the subject of Slavery," it did take action on the subject, by soon after receiving the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri, without excepting to the practice of slaveholding, known to be allowed in their churches, and also in their vote to approve the records of the Synod of Cincinnati, by excepting from their vote of approval "certain resolutions of the Synod on the subject of Slavery."

4th. Because "the time is near when slaveholding Christians and anti-Slaveholding Christians cannot walk together in the same ecclesiastical connexion." And the Assembly ought to have acted in the spirit of this solemn and momentous truth: and if they did not condemn the sin of slaveholding, they surely should not have increased the evil within our *ecclesiastical bounds*."

Rev. Wm. Graham dissented from that part of the above report relating to Slavery.

CASE OF REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

Charges of "heresy and error" were preferred by Reverend Daniel Gilmer, of Ripley Presbytery, against Reverend William Graham, of the Presbytery of Cincinnati, founded on a printed pamphlet of Mr. Graham's, on the subject of Slavery.

Presbytery ordered the trial to take place at the next stated meeting at Oxford, next Fall, and the parties to be notified.

From the Cleveland Herald.

WESTERN CONVENTION OF PRESBYTERIAN AND CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS, HELD AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.—MONDAY, JUNE 24.

The committee on the subject of slavery, reported resolutions as follows:

Resolved, That this convention hereby solemnly declare their unqualified reprobation of American Slavery as a great moral, personal, and political evil, threatening, if not speedily abandoned, ruin to the best interests of the nation.

Resolved, That it is therefore the imperious duty of all men in all suitable ways, to make known their hearty disapprobation of American Slavery especially, by avoiding all such fellowship with those who uphold it, as might imply, directly or indirectly, any connivance at its perpetuity, or extension. Adopted.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, (old school,) which recently held its session in Louisville, laid all petitions and memorials on the subject of Slavery, on the table, as has been before mentioned in the Standard. The following Protest was read, but as far as I can learn, never answered:

The undersigned, members of the General Assembly, feel constrained to protest against the action of the Assembly by which the reports of a majority and minority of the Committee on bills and overtures, on the subject of Slavery, to whom various memorials on that subject had been committed, were laid on the table, and the whole subject dismissed from the further consideration of this body, for the following reasons: 1. Because this action virtually denies and destroys the right of petition, which we regard as an inalienable sacred right. 2. Because the character and number of the memorialists entitle them to a more respectful consideration by this Assembly, one memorial being from a Presbytery in our connection, and nineteen others, signed by eight ministers, about fifty elders, and about one hundred private members in full communion in our denomination. 3. Because the subject matter of the memorials, viz; Slavery, is not only a political, but also a great moral question which is extensively agitated at the present day, in which both the church and the world, are beginning to take a deep and still deeper interest, and in regard to which many of the people in our communion anxiously desire to understand their duty. And 4. Because this action of the Assembly is clearly inconsistent with the testimony of the General Assembly of 1818, on this subject, which has never been repealed, as the memorialists are asking the Assembly to do nothing more than they are exhorted in that testimony to do. That Assembly declared Slavery to be "a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the law of God, and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ." And also declared it to be manifestly the duty of all Christians to use "their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete obliteration of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world.'

Ministers.—WELLS BUSHNELL, J. M. STONE, WM. MCCANDLISH, ROBERT B. DOBBINS, W. L. ROGERS.

Elders—JOHN HANNEN, W. M. FRANCIS.

A motion was made to lay this protest on the table, but Mr. Bushnell insisted on his right to have it entered in the minutes. After a little discussion, the Assembly voted to refer it to a Committee, who should examine it and propose such an answer as they might think necessary.

THE BAPTIST HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This body at its last meeting, in relation to the employment of Slaveholders as missionaries, passed the following Resolutions by a vote of 123 to 61:

Resolved, That as the Constitution of the Home Missionary Society clearly and distinctly defines its object to be the promotion of the gospel in North America, and as it is provided by such Constitution that any auxiliary society may designate the object to which the funds contributed by it shall be applied, and may also claim a missionary or missionaries, according to such fund, and select the field where the missionary or missionaries shall operate, that to introduce the subject of Slavery or Anti-Slavery into this body is in direct contravention to the whole letter and purport of the Constitution, and is, moreover, a most unnecessary agitation of topics over which it has no control, and as to which its operations should not be fettered nor its deliberations disturbed.

Resolved, That the Missionary Society being only an agency to disburse the funds confided to it according to the wishes of the contributors, therefore our co-operation in this does not imply any sympathy either with Slavery or Anti-Slavery, as to which subjects, societies or individuals are left free and uncommitted as if there were no such co-operations.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The following responses have come from the South, to the action of the Methodist General Conference:

A meeting of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Norfolk, was held in that city on the 13th inst. After an opening by the Rev. Mr. Lee, Editor of the Richmond Christian Advocate, the committee of nine presented a report and sundry resolutions for the approval of the meeting. The resolutions say that Methodism has eminently flourished in the Slaveholding States, dispensing the blessings of the Gospel of peace equally to the master and slave; that the late action of the General Conference will seriously impede the progress of the Church in the South; that the institution of Slavery, as it at present exists in the South, is not incompatible with the principles of Christianity, either by Scripture, or the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church; that the decision of the General Conference is an insult to all Methodist Slaveholders, and that this meeting "hurl back upon the majority who have sought to degrade Bishop Andrew," the expression of their utter disregard for their assumed excommunication, and their determination to make his cause their own; that an immediate separation take place from the grasp of a misguided majority, which separation will best promote the best interest of the South; that the conduct of Bishop Andrew, during his illegal arraignment, merits the approbation of meeting; that every minister who, by his vote, or his silence, submitted to the violation of the compromise charter of Union between the North and South, has rendered himself unacceptable to the South, "and ought not to occupy a Southern pulpit," and in this "we include all teachers of religion, high or low;" that the course pursued by Bishop Soule entitles him to the gratitude of the whole Southern Church; that the course of the senior editor of the New-York Christian Advocate and Journal upon the subject of Slavery, "meets with the unqualified repudiation of this meeting, and we recommend that every Southern Methodist withdraw his support from that Journal."—*Commercial Advertiser.*

The male Methodists of Richmond have held a meeting, and adopted the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That we consider the decision of the General Conference, in the case of Bishop Andrew, extrajudicial, unwarranted, and unjust—a decision to which the Southern laity ought not to and will not submit.

Resolved, That the course of the Virginia Delegation, and that of the entire Southern Church, upon the question of Slavery, merits our warmest support, and for it they have our hearty thanks.

Resolved, That any submission or concession on the part of Bishop Andrew or the Southern Delegations to the behests of the majority of the General Conference, will be considered a betrayal of Southern interests, and destructive of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Resolved, That while we are content to bear much and bear long for the sake of the harmony of the Church, and will cling to its union under one General Conference, so long as that union can exist without a compromise of our principles, or an acknowledgment of our shame, and will not hastily nor rashly advocate nor consent to a division of the General Conference—yet in our deliberate judgment, the time has come when the peace and prosperity of the whole Church demand such division, and when the Slaveholding portion of the Church can no longer remain united with their non-slaveholding brethren, without a tame surrender of their principles, and an acknowledgment that Slaveholding is inconsistent with Christianity.

The Methodists of Raleigh, North Carolina, met in convention to consider the action of the General Conference, relative to Bishop Andrew, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That we believe an *immediate* division of the Methodist Episcopal Church indispensable to the peace, prosperity, and honor of the Southern portion thereof, if not essential to her continued existence, and we earnestly request the Southern delegation never to return to their homes until a dissolution be effected.

The Methodists of Georgia, in the Savannah District, have passed strong resolutions, condemning the action of the General Conference in relation to Bishop Andrew, and approving of the proposed separation. Among their resolutions was one, recommending that the pulpits of the several places of divine worship, in the Savannah station, be closed against all and every member of the late General Conference, who voted in favor of the principles contained in the Resolution against the Rev. Bishop Andrew.

Selections.

From the Liberator.

THE SMITH SCHOOL.

The following proceedings of our colored fellow-citizens, in regard to their constitutional rights, and to the Smith School, and its teacher, Mr. Abner Forbes, were received at too late an hour for us to accompany them with any comments. We participate in the indignation expressed at the atrocious report of the sub-committee on the case of Mr. Forbes, and at the action of the school committee; and we call upon all colored parents to see to it, at whatever inconvenience or expense, that none of their children be sent to the Smith School, so long as so brutal and contemptuous an instructor is at the head of it:

Resolved, That impelled by a deep sense of gratitude, we tender to Dr. D. H. Storer our unfeigned thanks, for his successful efforts in instituting the late investigation of affairs connected with the Smith School, and for his unremitting attention to the same, from the commencement to the close.

Resolved, That we present our most grateful acknowledgments to the Hon. John C. Park, for the late voluntary and disinterested devotion of his time and eminent talents, in the cause of the wronged and neglected colored children of this city.

Whereas, We, the colored citizens of the city of Boston, have recently sent a petition to the School Committee, respectfully praying for the abolition of the separate schools for colored children, and asking for the rights and privileges extended to other citizens in respect to the common school system, viz: the right to send our children to the schools established in the respective districts in which we reside; and

Whereas, The School Committee, at their last meeting, passed a vote, stating in substance, that the prayer of our petition would not be granted, and that the separate schools for colored children would be continued; and

Whereas, We believe, and have the opinion of eminent counsel, that the institution and support of separate schools at the public charge, for any one class of the inhabitants, in exclusion of any other class, is contrary to the laws of this commonwealth; therefore—

Resolved, That we consider the late action of the School Committee, in regard to our petition, asking for the entire abolition of separate schools for colored children, as erroneous and unsatisfactory.

Resolved, That while we would not turn aside from our main object, the abolition of the separate colored schools, we cannot allow this occasion to pass without an expression of our surprise and regret at the recent acquittal by the School Committee, of Abner Forbes, Principal of the Smith School, and of our deep conviction that he is totally unworthy of his present responsible station, and that the colored parents of this city are recommended to withdraw their children from the exclusive school established in contravention of that equality of privileges which is the vital principle of the school system of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That a copy of the above preamble and resolutions be sent to the Chairman of the School Committee, with a request that the petition heretofore presented may be reconsidered, and that we be allowed a hearing on said petition before them.

Resolved, That the heart-felt thanks of the colored citizens of Boston, are due to Messrs. George S. Hillard and John T. Sargent for the humane and independent stand recently taken by them in the School Committee, in behalf of the rights and welfare of the colored children.

Resolved, That the expression of the sense of this meeting be transmitted to the several gentlemen named in the foregoing resolutions, and be also published in the city papers.

JOHN T. HILTON, *President.*

HENRY L. W. THATCKER, JONAS W. CLARK, } *Vice Presidents.*

WILLIAM C. NELL, ROBERT MORRIS, } *Secretaries.*

From the Elevator.

THE COLORED RACE.

The following remarks from the Public Ledger, will be read with pleasure. Notwithstanding the delicacy of this print, in interfering between Abolitionists and Slaveholders, it manifestly gives an impetus to the cause of the former, by setting forth a fact, which forms a prominent feature of the Anti-Slavery enterprise—that the capacity of the colored people for self-government has been found superior to many other nations of people. Unintentionally, no doubt, the Ledger has endorsed the views and sentiments of the Abolitionists of the world upon this very interesting topic, so much disputed by slaveholders and their miserable hirelings, the Colonizationists. It is not necessary, however, for men to search the history of foreign nations, to find out the fact of colored people being capable of self-government. Let them refer, without prejudice, to our conduct here at home. Despite the rigor of mental, moral, and physical servitude—the accumulated weight of wrong cast upon us for centuries, we have struggled into intellectual being, by means of our own invention, surpassing the most sanguine expectations of our well-tried and faithful friends. What comparison will the *white* foreigners, who overrun our land, bear with the native born colored citizens, in point of intelligence? With all the social and political advantages which they so rapidly obtain here, do they prove themselves better capable of self-government? As a mass, are they the willing subjects of our laws? Or do they need the most rigorous power of those laws to be brought against them, to force them into subjection?

Let the Public Ledger answer these questions without fear from papacy, or favor from slaveholders and lying Colonizationists. Let it, for once, "come out," erect, with republican principles, and face the truth, with a determination to assert it:

SELF GOVERNMENT.

"Some speculators upon human character infer that the African race are incapable of self-government, because the population of Hayti are now in a state of anarchy. And being incapable of self-government, say they, the Africans are unfit for freedom, and, therefore, were never designed by the Creator for that condition. Let us examine this doctrine; and in doing it, we shall not enter the field of negro Slavery in the United States, to interfere between abolitionists and slaveholders. We shall merely discuss an abstract political question, and appeal to history for facts.

"The Government of Hayti has endured for forty years or more. The French were entirely expelled in 1803, after the total failure of Napoleon's effort to reconquer the island. In 1805, Dessalines was appointed Governor for life, and soon after assumed the title of Emperor. He was slain by a military conspiracy, in 1806, and was succeeded by Christophe, as Chief Magistrate for life; Petrin, a mulatto, being a rival candidate, and defeated in a severe battle in 1807. In 1811 he assumed the title of King, and was massacred by a military conspiracy, in 1820. But during the whole period, from 1801 to 1818, Petrin was President of the mulatto population in the south and west part of the Island. He died in 1818, greatly lamented, for he was a good and able ruler, and was succeeded by Boyer, who, on the death of Christophe, in 1820, became President of the whole of the French part of the Island. The Spanish part was ceded to France in 1794, but was held by the Spanish population till 1821, when they offered to join the republic of Columbia, but was rejected. They have remained independent ever since, though in number probably not exceeding 100,000. The Presidency of Boyer continued till his expulsion a few months ago.

"Here, then, is a history of the colored population of Hayti for forty years. In that period they have exhibited one civil war between the blacks and mulattoes, two dethronements of monarchs, and one expulsion of a President, and three changes of Government, two from republicanism to monarchy, and one from monarchy to republicanism. How the recent change will terminate, we cannot predict. This looks like a formidable catalogue of disorders. But how does it compare with the catalogue of France? During this period we have seen France pass from a republic under a *Directory*, to a republic under a Consul for years; then to a Consulship for life; then to the rule of an Emperor; then to that of a constitutional King; then to that of Emperor; then to that of another constitutional King, striving to overthrow the Constitution; then to that of a "citizen King," surrounded by republican institutions. During the same period, France has exhibited the civil war of La Vandee, two dethronements of Kings, two of Emperors, two invasions of the "allies;" and Paris, "which is France," has exhibited the massacre of the "sections," and the "memorable three days;" and we may add to the catalogue not *less* than six Constitutions. And though no King or Emperor has been assassinated in this period, the attempts to assassinate Napoleon, were "legion," and those to kill the present King, have been more than we can count, and are probably not ended. Now if all the disorders of Hayti prove the incapacity of its people for self-government, what story do those of France tell for Frenchmen?

"Shall we go to Mexico, and South America for comparisons in *capacity* for self-government? Let the innumerable contests among generals, and the horrible oppressions which they have inflicted upon the people, answer the questions. Shall we go to Spain and Portugal? In each the *revolutions* have been like the changes of the seasons, and are still *in progress*, and we may challenge the bloodiest details of Haytien history for parallels to the atrocities of Spain. If Dessalines and Christophe were cruel tyrants, as they were, what shall we say of such monsters as Miguel and Ferdinand VII.? If the present anarchy of Hayti is deplorable, what is that of Spain?

"Well may those who deny the capacity of Haytiens for self-government, say that comparisons are odious."

HORRIBLE ATROCITIES AT MATANZAS—INFAMY OF THE GOVERNOR OF CARDENAS.

The Philadelphia North American has the following letter, under date of Havana, June 9th:

Since I last wrote you, I have visited Cardenas, now another anti-chamber of hell. Hundreds of negroes have perished under the lash during examination, all protesting their innocence to the last! The place where the negroes are whipped, has become very offensive to the neighborhood, from the quantity of putrified flesh, torn by the whip from their backs! A short time since, a Florida Indian, a very worthy man, who had long resided in the island, was arrested on suspicion of being one of the insurgents. He was taken to Cardenas, where, refusing to criminate himself, he was whipped to death!! On a sugar estate in that neighborhood, forty-six negroes were most cruelly tortured, several of whom died under the operation. On another estate, after attempting in vain to extort confessions of guilt by whipping, those fiends, called in Spanish, fiscales, [solicitors,] applied red-hot iron to the bleeding backs of the negroes!

The infamous wretch who is acting as Governor of Cardenas, is another Robespierre, and a thing after Governor O'Donnell's own heart.

Many white persons, principally foreigners, have fallen under the displeasure of the hateful inquisition. Samuel Moffart, of Delaware, William Bisby, of Vermont, and a Mr. Hogan, a native of the United States, are among the number. The latter has suffered a long confinement for having in his possession, a letter from a friend in the United States, advising him to leave the island!! The first two named were arrested on testimony extorted from a negro after he had received twelve hundred lashes!

On being arrested, they were tied to a gang of negroes, and in this condition, were driven like convicted felons, under the scorching rays of a tropical sun, through clouds of dust, to Cardenas. Mr. Moffart was confined in the stocks, among the whipped negroes, loathsome from their wounds, twenty days, and in irons ten days. Mr. Bisby was in the stocks seventeen days, and in irons nine days; and would have ended his days in irons, but for the interposition of a physician, who assured the Inquisition that he could not survive twenty-four hours longer, being very ill of a fever. Thereupon, he was taken out of irons, and with the medical and other assistance rendered him, he recovered. While at Cardenas, I learned that an early representation of these outrages had been made to our goverenment by our Consul at that place, Mr. Gage; and it is hoped that it will not be passed over unnoticed.

After a confinement of seventy days in Cardenas, Moffart and Bisby were sent to Matanzas for trial. On their arrival, the officers having them in charge, allowed them to stop at the United States Consul's office; but the time was so short, the Consul, Mr. Rodney, could not obtain from them a full account of their sufferings, and called at the prison the next morning, but was not allowed to see them. He has, however, as I am informed, sent to the Governor of the place, a very spirited remonstrance against the proceedings of the Inquisition in these and other cases that have come to his knowledge. It is still confidently asserted here, that a force is to be sent from the United States, to redress the wrongs of our countrymen who have suffered unjust imprisonment, on baseless suspicion of having been concerned in the plot of insurrection. Until the arrival of this force, little or nothing can be done for their relief by our Consuls, who, I am proud to say, have discharged their duty in the matter.

To O'Donnell and his tribe, the affair of the insurrection will be very lucrative. Property to the amount of $300,000, belonging to the free blacks and mulattoes now under arrest, has been attached. That all of them will be found guilty will be readily perceived by every person at all acquainted with the villany and cupidity of a Spanish tribunal. Independently of O'Donnell's salary as Governor-General, his proportion of the plunder, added to the gratification of seventeen dollars per head for every negro landed by the slavers, will give him, this year, a handsome fortune. I cannot close without mentioning a circumstance, while it is highly creditable to Mr. Moffart, which entitled him to better treatment than he has received at the hands of the Inquisition.

He came to the Island last year, in search of employment at his trade, that of a carpenter: he was soon engaged to do something on an estate in Bemba. The day after his arrival at the estate, the insurrection of which you have heard was begun. All the whites, except Mr. Moffart, fled in great terror; he, with an intrepidity without a parallel, attacked on horseback with a sword, single-handed, and kept in bay until the arrival of the troops, two hundred and fifty negroes, defended by shields and armed with cane-cutters; and in the affray, he received two severe cuts, the marks of which he will carry to his grave.

Correspondence of the Philadelphia North American.

HAVANA, May 25, 1844.

An order has been issued to arrest Mr. Bush, editor of the Utica (N. Y.) Observer, for some re-

marks he made last year in reference to the insurrection at Bemba.

Mr. Bush arrived at Matanzas about two months since, in very ill health, but fortunately left for the United States a few days before the issuing of the order.—[He has since died in Boston.]

A few days ago an Englishman was arrested in the same place for a seditious speech he made in the city of New-York two years since.

O'Donnell, the Governor-General of the Island, and the execrable Salas at the head of the Inquisition at Matanzas, together with their accursed harpies, are fast filling up the measure of their iniquity. The storm is fast gathering, and already do we hear its mutterings in the distance.

The proceedings of Governor O'Donnell with regard to the negroes implicated in the late insurrectionary movements, would put to the blush the savages of our western wilderness. More than three hundred have already perished under the whip, during the process of examination!

Correspondence of the Philadelphia Inquirer and Gazette.

CUBA—AWFUL STATE OF AFFAIRS.

HAVANA, June 23, 1844.

Affairs in this island continue much the same as when I last wrote to you. The Captain-General is as violent as ever, and the system of terror completely established. Executions are going on daily under sentences of the military commission at Matanzas. Eight negroes and one white man were shot there three days ago. Ten more are for execution next week, and among them the poet "Placido." Arrests are still numerous, principally of free people of color, whose properties are immediately confiscated, and a wholesale system of robbery is thus established.

Great numbers of artisans, free, colored and blacks, have gone away, which they are allowed to do. One hundred and one went to Vera Cruz by the last mail steamer—50 yesterday. No one, not even Count Villaneuve, the Intendente, dares to speak to General O'Donnell upon these matters. He has positively refused the British Commissioners to liberate any of the "Emancipados," or negroes captured long ago, by English cruisers, and who, having served their approbationary term, are entitled to their free papers, under the treaty with Great Britain. O'Donnell says the state of their "moral and religious" instruction has been hitherto neglected, so that they are unfit for the enjoyment of freedom, and must remain until they are so fitted. This answer was given to the commissioners respecting some one hundred and fifty or more now getting their moral instruction, working upon the Guines railroad, which must there be well attended to.

But the truth is, that these unfortunate "Emancipados" are hunted up as their probationary terms of service expire, and are re-assigned to the same master, or the highest bidder, upon payment of about $150 per man, and $85 per woman, for a new term of five or seven years.

There are upwards of 5000 of these unfortunate people, all of them entitled to their freedom, upon the faith of the British Government, but as in some instances, large gratifications toward the above funds have been paid to O'Donnell's Secretary, you may fancy what a fortune he will acquire by the measure. In short, such a system of villany does not exist elsewhere under the sun, and the situation of the "Emancipado," under the English treaty, is far worse than that of the slave, as the slave-owner has some motive to treat well the slave whom he has to support when years shall unfit him for labor, while from the Emancipado working on a term of years, the master exacts the greatest possible amount of labor, at the least possible outlay for food and clothing. If Great Britain shall tamely submit to this, let her say what she pleases, the world must doubt her sincerity in the cause of the suffering African.

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FROM HAVANA.—The United States Schooner, Phœnix, at Norfolk, brings intelligence from Havana to the 29th ultimo.

Everything is now quiet in Cuba. There are above one thousand persons confined in the different prisons under convictions of suspicion, of having been engaged in the late attempt at revolution, among the negroes. Every free black in the Island is said to have been engaged in the plot. A vast number, no one seems to know how many, have been shot. There were several white men charged with being in some way concerned; among them two Americans, who will most probably be shot soon.

We learn that one of the plans of the negroes was, to have destroyed the entire garrison of the Island, (25,000 men,) by putting poison in the bread, which is baked for them daily. The poison was found in the Bake House.

In consequence of the drought the crops of the Island are very much injured. One gentleman, who cultivates a very large coffee plantation, told the United States Consul, that his entire crop was destroyed, not a blossom having matured. Every orange and lemon tree in the Island are said to have been destroyed by a small worm. Not an orange or lemon could be procured at Havana. There were no cases of yellow fever up to the time of the sailing of the Phœnix.

Communications.

ANNUAL MEETING

Of the Old Colony (Plymouth County) Anti-Slavery Society.

WEYMOUTH, Mass. July 4th, 1844.

Sydney H. Gay—Dear Friend: I cannot close this most delightfully spent day, without endeavoring to make you and your readers sharers, as far as may be, in its satisfactions. I have passed it in your own County of Plymouth, in the midst of a throng of your own well-known and well-beloved friends. It was the annual meeting of the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society, appointed at Hanson. The village is not large, but was selected as being centrally situated, and at the hour appointed, the meeting-house of Mr. Whiting was thronged. From the extreme limits of the County came forth men and women, of such as Garrison calls "Storm and tempest proof;"—while, from far beyond the limits of the County, the allies came pouring in. The neat church, seen from the highway through the trees, beneath whose shadows the horses and carriages were picturesquely scattered, seemed truly a temple of worship. The most rigid formalist will hardly deny good works to be other than a suitable *form* of divine service; while the most zealous Spiritualist will acknowledge with Pascal, that "we must not mistake ourselves—we are *body* as *well* as spirit;" and hence, can only demonstrate and preserve our souls by active performance of duty. It was pleasant to see the Abolitionists from the neighborhood of Weymouth and Braintree dropping in one after another as the day wore on. They had left behind them the flag that floats at the mast-head of the foreign Slaver, and over the domestic auction-block, unrebuked of the American nation; and which, blotted also on this occasion, with the name of the man who has labored so strenuously to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society, now indicated a Third Party festival in their neighborhood, to seek a holier communion than the one that the despairing Carlyle thinks the holiest now extant—"a dinner at the Crown and Anchor at so much a head,"—blessed too, by pro-slavery clergymen, as free from the taunt of the Abolitionism they fear.

The Rev. Increase S. Smith, of Dorchester, then presented the resolutions: Not, he observed, with the view of urging a vote upon them at that time, but with the intention of opening the subject of our meeting in all its breadth, and to its utmost extent; so that no one need feel cramped in the expression of his views by the necessity which a single specific point imposes, of rigid adherence to that alone. All have valuable thoughts and valuable experiences: but all may not find it favorable to their expression to be confined by a strictly worded resolution, to one single train of thought.

Mr. FORD, of Abington, spoke of that portion of the resolutions which points to the Fourth of July as an appropriate time to consider the pro-slavery character of the church and clergy, and declared his conviction of their unworthiness in the light of Anti-Slavery truth, and of the duty of Abolitionists to cease to countenance them.

Mr. OTIS, of Scituate, was of opinion that there were in the sects many worthy men and true Abolitionists, who were coming toward the light, and acted up to it as fast as they received it.

Mr. FORD hoped he had not been understood as denying this. He had only argued from the character of the institutions in question, that it was a failure in duty for an Abolitionist to sustain them, by continuing his connection with them.

Mr. SPEAR, of Weymouth, seconded the remarks of Mr. Smith. In a meeting for the transaction of business, a more rigid adherence to routine might be demanded; but otherwise, the less a meeting was trammelled by calls to order, the better. A free meeting of abolitionists could not fail to be in perfect order. He instanced a recent meeting at Portland, Maine, which had recently been attended by the Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and where the most interesting discussions had been carried on in the most orderly manner, without even a chairman. He wanted to hear from the friends present, of the condition and prospects of the cause in their respective towns. Mr. Spear continued to speak of the feelings of grief which this day ever awakened in his mind—of the feelings of joyful sympathy which, even the redemption of one slave and his family, inspired many hearts—of the case of Lunsford Lane, whom all present had seen—and of the delight with which Abolitionists promulgated the principles which are to free the whole three millions;—in that strain of simple and fervent piety, which so eminently characterizes all his public ministrations for the slave. He was followed by

SAMUEL REED of Abington. I like this plan of laying the whole subject before the meeting at once. I have a few thoughts which I can now slip in, which might not be in order otherwise. I want to speak in behalf of those who have some years experience in the cause. They know how it has been the practice of the church and the ministers to throw dust in men's eyes, and deceive them, ever since the cause first started. They have called us infidels. I don't know what they would call Christianity. I thought this cause was part and parcel of Christianity. Christianity is love to God and love to man. I know no other. Though we have all the political parties and all the religious denominations against us, it is no matter. God and the right are with us. I am not concerned for the event. HE is carrying on the work, and all the attempts to oppose it are but his instruments to further it. He is carrying it on all the while. He does it by the development of human character. Character is not drawn out and filled up at once. It enlarges, to meet the demands of the times. We first embrace a single principle. We draw from it inferences and deductions. Just so when an apple fell there was a whole system ready to be drawn out of it. We must wait, not passively but actively, and all will be well at length. See how it has been with us! Men have called to us to stop: they have seen us go on and take a position, and then they come right up, of necessity, and take the one we've left. We do our duty, and the way opens further; and still men follow on. They can't help it. Now we have fired the great gun, men say—the dissolution of the Union. It is a hard saying to them. The Constitution is even more sacred than the Bible. But I don't see how we can get away from this ground of dissolution, and if we go forward they can't but come up. We need not fear to be few. Leave all that is unholy, and God will take care of that. I thought we should have a thin meeting here to-day. I said, "There's the celebration for this party, and that party, and the other party—there's the pic nic for this, and for that, and for nothing;" but here we are, a host. I have heard tell of this cause going back. There's no go back to it any more than there is to God!

Mr. MORTON, of Plymouth, said it was a common saying, that after a tree is grafted it is some time before it will bear. It is so with great principles, they come gradually to fruit. In the temperance cause, its advocates consumed a great deal of rum and brandy before they applied their principles closely, as they ought. It takes long to get clear of old notions. All men's natural sympathies are in favor of Freedom and with the slave. We have good bumps, as the phrenologists say; but our sculls are crowded with notions, that crowd hard upon our benovolence and conscientiousness, and these good bumps. It is as easy to put them in as it is a cent into a concribution-box; but it's just as plaguy hard to get them out. We must educate the children and youth aright, and get rid of these notions which spring from a bad education. We must get rid of our clergy-worship and our President-worship. We shall soon. We begin to find out what party politics means. It is a struggle to rifle the people. They all acknowledge it. They follow after their candidates to get a pinch of the public funds for their sons-in-law, and their cousins. Mr. OTIS asked for the remedy. We all understood the disease—what should we do to cure it.

Mr. PHILLIPS here addressed the meeting with a power and eloquence I have seldom heard equalled, with a beauty and effect that I never saw surpassed. His arguments—his illustrations—his imagery, held the audience as it were spell-bound till the time of adjournment, in answer to Mr. Otis's inquiry. When that time arrived Mr. PERRY, the representative of the elegant hospitality of the place, invited all present to partake of a collation: and after one of the Hutchinson songs, from the Lincoln family of Hingham, which the Hutchinsons themselves would have delighted to hear, so charmingly was it executed, the meeting adjourned to Mr. Hawes's Hall, which had been kindly given for the occasion; and were there welcomed to an ample and beautifully arranged repast; as grateful as it was bountiful and unexpected. On returning to the meeting, Mr. Phillips concluded his address. A collection was then taken up for the cause, and subscriptions for the Anti-Slavery papers. You will be pleased to hear that the little HERALD OF FREEDOM was warmly commended to the audience as well as the others; and you will not wonder that we returned delighted with Hanson and its faithful few—with Plymouth county, and the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, and almost in charity with the Fourth of July; for we were convinced that much was done by this day's work towards making it a fit holiday for a Christian and Republican people.

Ever yours, for the service of the cause.

M. W. C.

OLD COLONY (PLYMOUTH Co.) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The tenth Annual Meeting of Old Colony (Plymouth County) Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Universalist Meeting-house, in Hanson, on Thursday, July 4th, 1844.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr. Increase S. Smith, and prayer offered by Rev. William Whiting, of Hanover.

The following persons were elected officers for the ensuing year:

President—ELMER HEWITT, of Hanson.

Vice Presidents—Seth Sprague, Duxbury; Sam'l Reed, Abington; Anson Robbins, Scituate; Joshua Perry, Hanson; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth.

Secretary—Samuel Dyer, Abington.

Treasurer—Edward Morton, Plymouth.

Managers—Edward Y. Perry, Hanover; John Cotherell, Abington; Elizabeth Niles, Abington; Daniel Otis, Scituate; Micah H. Pool, Abington.

The following preamble and resolves were offered by Mr. Increase S. Smith, and accepted for discussion:

Whereas, This day is hailed by millions of our fellow-countrymen as the Anniversary of our national birth; and whereas, the birth which this day celebrates was ushered into the world, by the annunciation of certain great principles of Liberty, Equality, and Human Brotherhood; and whereas, these great principles have been most wickedly violated from the time of their annunciation to the present moment, by the enslavement of one-sixth part of the inhabitants of the land; and whereas, it is the settled policy of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, and of a great proportion of the people, to perpetuate the violation of these principles, by an unconstitutional and unjust acquisition of territory: therefore,

Resolved, That this day is not to be hailed as the anniversary of the birth of a nation, free and independent *in fact, but in word only;* that it ought to be ushered in with the sighs of sorrow and sobs of penitence, instead of the shouts of joy and the boastings of hardened wickedness; that it is an appropriate time to reflect upon the hypocrisy and duplicity which have characterized the whole period of our national existence, and to determine how far we, individually and collectively, have participated in this hypocrisy and this duplicity: that it is an appropriate time to reannounce the great principles of Liberty, Equality, and Human Brotherhood, and to take upon ourselves vows of fidelity to them in all the relations of life, social, civil, and religious:—that it is an appropriate time to present before the nation, its Rulers, to denounce them where truth and justice require denunciation, and to give the meed of praise where praise is due:—that it is an appropriate time to call into judgment the Church and Clergy of our land, to arraign them before the self-evident truths which our Fathers proclaimed in '76, and which Jesus announced eighteen centuries before in the great command, "do unto others as you would that others should do unto you;" and finally, that it is an appropriate time, and *that it is our duty, to renounce both Church and State so far as Church and State have been false to their trust, to come out* from the iniquity of the land, and, by the help of Almighty God, to resolve, henceforth, so to speak, so to live, and so to die, that the judgments which overhang us may be averted, and that truth, justice, liberty, and happiness, may take the place of error, injustice, tyranny, and wretchedness, throughout our whole land, and throughout the world.

The above resolves elicited the most interesting discussion from Messrs. Smith, Wendell Phillips, J. M. Spear, Samuel Reed, D. Otis, Ichabod Morton, Lewis Ford, William Whiting, ——— Killum and others.

The meeting was enlivened from time to time with anti-slavery songs, from our gifted friends in Hingham, and Weymouth; and was altogether one of the most spirited meetings ever held in the Old Colony.

SAMUEL DYER, Secretary.

THE NO-VOTING THEORY.

Friend Gay, I offer you a hasty sketch of a reply to your correspondent about "The No-Voting Theory." He states the Non-Voting Theory thus: "It is wrong to give our votes for any man, who, as a public officer, will do anything unjust." He should say, "who, as a public officer, will be *bound* to do anything unjust." I care little what my representative *may* do—but I am responsible for the character of the service which I appoint and request him to perform.

He goes on to speak of the "nature of man." Now the "nature of man," is shadowy speculation. Right and wrong is plain sailing—and while these philosophical theories are clouding the air, we little boats had better hug the shore.

To this and the four subsequent paragraphs of your correspondent, I answer as follows—confessing first, that the writer meets the difficulty, as he always does, like a man, without mincing:—

The argument is based upon the supposition that there is something morally wrong in the United States Constitution. It is addressed to, and intended for those individuals who think that taking office under that Constitution, would bind them to do what they deem wrong; and the argument briefly stated is this:

Government is necessary; perfect unanimity on moral questions is impossible; therefore, it is right to take part in a government, some of whose laws, one deems morally wrong.

Now, Government is a connected whole—a chain of unbroken links. Every man in the circle joins hands with every other. To take part in such a Government, therefore, means either to undertake myself, to execute the law which I think wrong, or to appoint another to do so.

The argument, therefore, stands thus: Government is necessary; unanimity on moral questions is impossible; therefore, it is justifiable for me to join others in doing *what I think wrong*, in order to "sustain Government, and the nature of man."

Now, it will be allowed that to each man the dictate of his own conscience is, for the time being, his highest law. He sins if he violates it—(of course he is bound to use all opportunities of enlightening his conscience.) Therefore, I ought not to do what I think wrong. I ought not to help another do what I think wrong. I ought not to appoint or request another to do what I think wrong.

Yet your correspondent says I ought to assist and support others in doing what I think wrong,—ought to appoint them to offices, whose duties I think wrong, in order to sustain "the nature of man." I respectfully ask, how much sin does God authorize us to commit, in order to sustain "this nature of man?" Where did your correspondent get the scales in which he weighs sin against the "nature of man," and finds the former kick the beam?

Your correspondent will allow that to vote another into office, is to make him my agent—and that to do an act by an agent, is morally the same as doing it myself. He will allow also, for the purposes of this argument, that the Constitution commands the return of fugitive slaves. Since the argument is intended for those who believe this, and they must act, and with them we must argue as if the fact were so.

Now, does he mean to say that I, believing the return of fugitive slaves to be wrong, may appoint an officer to return them, and justify myself before God, for doing, through a deputy, what I thought wrong, by pleading the "necessity of Government, and the nature of man." If so, then man's law justifies me in disobeying God's law. This may be logic, but it's not morality. The question seems to be, whether we shall preserve our Government, or our morality. I take leave to cling to my morality, and let Government and the "nature of man" shift for themselves.

If it be true, as your correspondent argues, that Government cannot exist without the mass of the people, each one consenting to do something he thinks wrong, then Government had better cease. If we can't have Government without smothering our moral convictions, as individuals, I am a no-Government man.

Your correspondent will not attempt to avoid the difficulty by saying, let each man take the office in which he finds no duty to be done, that is against his conscience. Government, as I have said is a whole, unless each in his circle aids his next neighbor, the machine will stand still. The Senator does not himself return the fugitive slave, but he appoints the Marshal, whose duty it is to do so. The State Representative does not himself appoint the Judge who signs the warrant for the slave's recapture, but he chooses the United States Senator who does appoint that Judge. The elector does not himself order out the militia to resist "domestic violence," but he elects the President, whose duty requires, that a case occurring, he should do so.

To suppose that each of these may do that part of his duty that suits him, and leave the rest undone, is *practical anarchy.* It is bringing ourselves precisely to that state which the Hebrew describes. "In those days there was no king in Israel, but each man did what was right in his own eyes." This is all consistent in us, who hold that man is to do right, even if anarchy follows. But the mistake of your correspondent would be, in setting up such a scheme, and miscalling it a *government*,—where nobody governs but everybody does as he pleases. This I think the fundamental error of Mr. Pierpont's position.

But it is not true that Government is necessarily based on sin—that it cannot exist unless every man stifle somewhat of his conscience, and join others in doing what he thinks wrong. The supposition is a libel alike on "the nature of man," and of his Maker.

It is not true that the bulk of the people cannot frame an outline of Government, or a code of laws upon which they can, *conscientiously*, in every part, agree. Men are not used to such independent thinking as your friend supposes. They are too much accustomed to travelling in herds. How many thousands have gone to their graves believing every item of the Thirty-nine Articles! How many millions have contended heart and soul for every one of the five points of Calvin! Men are too *much* accustomed to think law synonymous with justice—and to bind up the statute-book, as an appendix with the Gospel. Of the 130,000 voters in Massachusetts, it would be a ludicrous exaggeration to suppose that 30,000 entertained any conscientious scruples as to any point in her State Constitution or her Revised Statutes. And are not the 100,000 who remain, abundantly sufficient to support Government and sustain the "nature of man!"

The real question between me and your correspondent is simply this; supposing there are thirty thousand such men in Massachusetts, what is their duty in the premises? I will try to tell him.

While they are a minority, it is their duty to act only as individuals on those about them, and not sacrifice their consciences to gain the additional influence of office.—When they become a majority and can agree on a form of Government, the theory of republican institutions gives them the right to set it up, and by force if necessary. Until they become so, and can so agree, they must remain as God made them, *individuals.* God made us social beings, it is true; but *society* is not the Constitution of the United States! Man confers the rights and regulates the duties of citizenship. God never made a *citizen*, and no one will escape, as a man, from the sins he commits, as a citizen.

But it is said this results in good men leaving Government to the dishonest and wicked.

Well, if to sustain Government we must sacrifice honesty, Government could not be in a more appropriate place, than in the hands of dishonest men.

But it by no means follows, that if I go out of Government, I leave nothing but dishonest men behind. An act may be sin to me, which another may sincerely think right—and if so, let him do it, till he changes his mind. I leave Government in the hands of those whom I do not think as clear-sighted as myself, but not necessarily in the hands of the dishonest. Whether it be so in this country now, is not, at present, the question, but whether it would be so necessarily, in all cases. The real question is, what is the duty of those who presume to think that God has given them clearer views of duty than the bulk of those among whom they live.

Don't think us conceited in supposing ourselves a little more enlightened than our neighbors. It is no great thing after all to be a little better than a lynching—mobocratic—slaveholding—debt-repudiating community.

What then is the duty of such men? Doubtless to do all they can to extend to others the light they enjoy.

Will they best do so by compromising their principles? by letting their political life give the lie to their life of reform? Who will have the most influence, he whose life is consistent, or he who says one thing to day, and swears another thing to-morrow—who looks one way and rows another. My object is to let men *understand me*, and I submit that the body of the Roman people understood better, and felt more earnestly, the struggle between the people and the princes, when the little band of democrats *left the city* and encamped on *Mons Sacer outside*, than while they remained mixed up and voting with their masters, shoulder to shoulder. *Dissolution* is our *Mons Sacer*—God grant it may become equally famous in the world's history as the spot where the right triumphed.

It is foolish to suppose that the position of such men, divested of the glare of official distinction, has no weight with the people. If it were so, I am still bound to remember that I was not sent in the world *to have influence*, but to do my duty according to my own conscience. But it is not so. People do know an honest man when they see him. (I allow that this is so rare an event now-a-days, as almost to justify your correspondent in supposing they might have forgotten how he looked.) They will give a man credit, when his life is one manly testimony to the truthfulness of his lips. Even Liberty Party, blind as she is, has light enough to see that "Consistency is the jewel, the everything, of such a cause as ours." The position of a non-voter, in a land where the ballot is so much idolized, kindles in every beholder's bosom something of the warm sympathy which waits on the persecuted, carries with it all the weight of a disinterested testimony to truth, and pricks each voters conscience with an uneasy doubt, whether after all voting *is* right.—There is constantly a Mordecai in the gate.

I admit that we should strive to have a *political* influence—for with politics is bound up much of the welfare of the people. But my friend supposes that the ballot box is the *only* means of political influence. Now it is a good thing that every man should have the right to vote. But it is by no means necessary, that every man should actually vote in order to influence his times—and here I think is the greatest mistake of your correspondent. We by no means necessarily desert our social duty when when we refuse to take office, or to confer it. Lafayette did better service to the cause of French liberty when he retired to Lagrange and refused to acknowledge Napoleon, than he could have done had he stood for years, at the tyrant's right hand. From the silence of that chamber there went forth a voice—from the darkness of that retreat there burst forth a light, feeble indeed at first, like the struggling beams of the morning, but destined like them to brighten into perfect day.

I have thus answered what I consider the extreme cases relied on by my friend. But let it be remembered that we are not dealing with extreme cases. Slavery is no minute evil which lynx-eyed suspicion has ferreted out. Every sixth man is a slave. The ermine of justice is stained. The national banner clings to the flag staff, heavy with blood. "The preservation of slavery," says our oldest and ablest statesman, "is the vital and animating *spirit* of the National Government."

Surely IF it be true that a man may justifiably stand connected with a Government in which he sees some slight evils—still it is also true, even then, that Governments *may* sin so atrociously, so enormously,—may make evil so much the *purpose* of their being as to render it the duty of honest men to wash their hands of them.

I may give money to a friend whose life has some things in it which I do not fully approve—but when his nights are passed in the brothel, and his days in drunkeness, when he uses his talents to seduce others, and his gold to pave their road to ruin, surely the case is changed.

I may perhaps sacrifice health by staying awhile in a room rather overheated, but I shall certainly see it to be my duty to rush out, when the whole house is in full blaze.

In answer to your correspondent's difficulties about swearing in his next two paragraphs, I admit that swearing to do a wicked act without doing it, and doing it without previously swearing, as well as swearing and doing it, are all unjustifiable.

And then we come to the matter of bringing suits and paying taxes.

Now grant he is right on both these points—that we, non-voters, cannot either sue or pay taxes—what does it prove?

Until I become an Irishman, your friend will never convince me that I ought to vote, by proving that I ought not to pay taxes. Suppose all these difficulties do really encompass us, it will not be the first time, that the doing of one moral duty has revealed a dozen others which we never thought of. The child has climbed the hill over his native village, which he thought the end of the world, and lo! there are mountains beyond! He won't remedy the matter by creeping back to his cradle and disbelieving in mountains! But then, is there any such inconsistency in non-voters suing, and paying taxes?

Look at it. A. and B. have agreed on certain laws, and appointed C. to execute them. A. owes me, who am no party to the contract, a just debt, which his laws oblige him to pay. Do I acknowledge the rightfulness of his relation to B. and C. by asking C. to use the power given him, in my behalf? It appears to me that I do not. I may surely ask A. to pay me my debt—why not then ask the keeper, whom he has appointed over himself, to make him do so?

I am a prisoner among pirates. The mate is abusing me in some way contrary to their laws. Do I recognize the rightfulness of the Captain's authority, by asking him to use the power the mate has consented to give him to protect me. It seems to me that I do not necessarily endorse the means by which a man has acquired money or power, when I ask him to use either in my behalf.

As your correspondent does not raise the point whether one non-voter can properly sue another, I will not stop now to discuss it.

The Liberator, I think, is right in saying that an alien does not recognize the rightfulness of a Government, by suing under it; and I challenge your friend, to produce any respectable writer on law, who maintains the contrary. Your friend refers to "the instincts of humanity." I ask him to show any "instinct," which teaches a common man, that by suing in Constantinople or Timbuctoo, he does an act which makes him responsible for the character of those governments.

Then, as for taxes. It is only our voluntary acts for which we are responsible. And when did Government ever trust tax-paying to the voluntary good will of its subjects? When it does so, I for one, shall refuse to pay.

Your correspondent draws a distinction between paying taxes and letting the Government collect them by force. It is a distiction without a differenece. For it is an understood thing, that taxes are an imposition, to which Government does not ask the assent of each individual. She collects them equally of non-voters, and aliens, and women, &c. &c. What is the difference between giving your purse to a highwayman, and letting him take it out of your pocket with his own hand?

Your correspondent's talk about the collection of a tax being *a penalty*, and not *the payment of it*, does not, in my opinion, rise even to the dignity of a legal quibble. In Massachusetts, at least, when I omit to pay my tax, the collector proceeds, not to punish me, but to collect the tax out of my goods.

My friend appeals to the "instincts of human nature." So do I. When did any sane man conclude that our Saviour's voluntary payment of a tax, acknowledged the rightfulness of Rome's authority over Judea?

"The States," says Chief Justice Marshall, "have only not to elect Senators, and this Government expires without a struggle."

Every November, then, we *create* the Government anew. Now, what "instinct" will tell a common-sense man, that the act of a *Sovereign*,—voting—which creates a wicked Government, is *essentially* the same as the submission of a *subject*,—tax-paying—an act done without our consent. It should be remembered, that we vote as *Sovereigns*,—we pay taxes as *subjects*. Who supposes that the humble tax-payer of Austria, who does not perhaps know in what name the charter of his bondage runs, is responsible for the doings of Metternich? And what sane man likens his position to the voting sovereign of the United States? My innocent acts, may, through others' malice, result in evil. In that case, it will be for my best judgment to determine whether to continue or cease them. They are not thereby rendered essentially sinful. For instance, I walk out on Sabbath morning. The Priest over the way will exclaim, "Sabbath Breakers," and the infidel will delude his followers, by telling them I have no regard for Christianity. Still, it will be for me to settle which, in present circumstances is best,—to remain in and not be misconstrued; or to go out and bear a testimony against the superstitious keeping of the day. Different circumstances will dictate different action on such a point.

So of taxes on imports. Buying and selling, and carrying from country to country is good and innocent. But Government, if I trade here, will take occasion to squeeze money out of me. Very well. I shall deliberate, whether I shall cease trading, and deprive them of the opportunity, or go on and lose my wealth to reform them. 'Tis a question of expediency, not of right, which my judgment, not my conscience, must settle. An act of mine, innocent in itself, and one from right motives, no after act of another's can make a sin. To import, is rightful. After-taxation, against my consent, cannot make it wrong. Neither am I oblized to smuggle, in order to avoid it. I include in these remarks, all taxes, whether on property, or imports, or railroads.

A chemist, hundreds of years ago, finds out how to temper steel. The art is useful for making knives, lancets, and machinery. But he knows that the bad will abuse it by making swords and daggers. Is he responeible? Certainly not.

Similar to this is trading in America,—knowing Government will thus have an opportunity to increase its revenue.

But suppose the chemist to see two men fighting, one has the other down—to the first our chemist presents a finely tempered dagger.

Such is voting under the United States Constitution—appointing an officer to help the oppressor.

The difference between voting and tax-paying is simply this. I may do an act right in itself, though I know some evil will result. Paul was bound to preach the Gospel to the Jews though he knew some of them would thereby be led to add to their sins by cursing and mobbing him.

So I may locate property in Philadelphia, trade there, and ride on its railroads, though I know Government will, without my consent, thereby enrich itself. Other things being equal, of course I shall not allow it the opportunity. But the advantages and good results of my doing so may *be* such as would make it my duty there to live and trade, even subject to such an evil.

But on the other hand, I may not do an act wrong in itself to secure any amount of fancied good.

Now, appointing a man by my vote to a pro-slavery office, (and such is every one under the United States Constitution) is wrong in itself, and no other good deeds which such officer may do, will justify an abolitionist in so appointing him.

Let it not be said that this reasoning will apply to voting—that voting is the right of every human being (which I grant only for the sake of argument) and innocent in itself.

Voting *under our Constitution* is appointing a man to swear to protect, and actually to protect Slavery. Now appointing agents generally is the right of every man, and innocent in itself, but appointing an agent to commit a murder is sin.

I trade, and Government taxes me; do I authorize it? No.

I vote and the marshal whom my agent appoints returns a slave to South Carolina. Do I authorize it? *Yes.* I knew it would be his *sworn duty*, when I voted; and I assented to it by voting under the Constitution which makes it his duty. If I trade, it is said, I may foresee that Government will be helped by the taxes I pay, therefore, I ought not to trade. But I do not trade *for the purpose* of paying taxes! And if I am to be charged with all the foreseen results of my actions, then Garrison is responsible for the Boston mob!

The reason why I am responsible for the pro-slavery act of a United States officer, for whom I have voted, is this: I must be supposed to have *intended* that which my agent is *bound* by his contract with me (that is, his oath of office) to do.

Finally—It is said, though not by your correspondent, duty to the slave requires me to quit the country, and go where my taxes will not build up a bad Government. This is matter of expediency and with your leave, "good master Simple," I'll judge for myself.

God gave me my birth here. Because bad men about me "play such tricks before high Heaven, as make the angels weep," does it oblige me to quit? I have as good right here as they. If they choose to leave, let them—I shall remain. 'Twould be a pretty thing indeed, if, as often as I found myself next door to a bad man, who would bring up his children to steal my apples and break my windows—I were obliged to take the temptation away by cutting down all my apple trees and moving my house farther west, into the wilderness. This would be, in good John Wesley's phrase, "giving up all the good tunes to the Devil" with a witness.

My friend is thankful we make but few converts. If it be so in Pennsylvania, the reason may be that the soil is so bad. But report says some of even Pennsylvania's best are with us, and the vote at the New England Convention, ten to one in our favor, tells a different story. Still I admit that wherever truth is to be determined by votes and not by arguments he will get the victory.

Yours, truly, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 11. 1844.

UNITARIANISM AND SLAVERY.

America has hitherto owed much to the moral influence emanating from that small body called Unitarians. I speak not now of their Theological dogmas, but of their moral principles. To the Abolitionists and to the slaves, the important consideration is, not what Unitarians think of the Divine personality, but what attributes they recommend to imitation in the Divine character. It is not our affair, as members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, whether the Athanasian creed be true or false, but whether Slavery be contrary to the course of a Divine providence or no. We have nothing to say about "the Sonship," but we affirm that every child of God should be free; and therefore, we feel grateful for what the Unitarians have in past times done for Freedom and the rights of man. They have an influence far greater than their numerical proportions would indicate: the influence of high intellectual cultivation, wealth, scholastic attainments, and social position. Standing, as they do, comparatively free from pro-slavery ecclesiastical influences, having but a mere half-dozen of Southern congregations; favored as they have been, in the precepts and examples of some of our most devoted associates, who have risen from their ranks, to those of the Anti-Slavery cause, and stirred to a fresh remembrance of duty, by the gentle remonstrance of their English brethren, their circumstances seem more favorable than those of any other religious association for the perception and adoption of the right course.

In view, not only of their real influence, but of their claim to the leading of the vanguard of religious progress, it becomes of great importance to Abolitionists to know their exact position with regard to the Anti-Slavery cause; and, to ascertain it, we look not to the few exceptions, so brilliant and so beloved, in our own ranks;—not to those who, like Dr. Dewey and Dr. Gannett, head the forces of the Northern allies of Slavery; nor yet to those—"hateful to God and to the enemies of God," who spend their lives in avoiding any demonstrations but those of neutrality. We look to the highest official source,—the proceedings of the Unitarian Association.*

To help in the formation of a just judgment, it is necessary to look, not only at what that body has just done, but also at what it has refused to do.

The following is one of the resolutions presented by Samuel May, and which met with warm and *successful* opposition:

"Resolved, That the American Unitarian Association, desirous that the pecuniary or other aid rendered by them from time to time to individuals and societies in the Slaveholding sections of the country, shall not be misunderstood or misconstrued, *do hereby declare their conviction that the institution of Slavery, as existing in this country, is contrary to the will of God, to the Gospel of Christ,* and especially to the views which we entertain concerning it, to the rights of man, and to every principle of justice and humanity; and in a spirit, not of dictation, but of friendly remonstrance, and entreaty, *would call upon those whom they may address, as believers in one God and Father of all, to bear a faithful testimony against Slavery.*"

This is such a resolution as the Abolitionist and the slave would advocate. One which it ought to be the business of the Unitarian Association heartily to adopt, no matter for the consequences; no possible consequences being so terrible as the loss of character consequent upon refusal. But the Association contended to the last, that it was "not within their ordinary province, to entertain any question, or to adopt any measure in relation to the institution of Slavery." The deed that the Association deemed worthy of consideration, was the expulsion of one of its ministers from a *part* of the country, on the charge of being an Abolitionist:—not the holding, by the *whole* country, of two and a half millions of slaves. The Association acknowledges,—being crowded by the *nether* mill-stone—the people,—that Slavery, viewed in the light of Christianity, conflicts with the natural rights of human beings, and subverts the fundamental principles of human brotherhood; but in deference to the upper mill-stone, fifteen pastors, the leading members of Congregations in and around Boston, in direct mercantile and matrimonial connection with Slavery, this acknowledgment is counterchecked by the explanation, that it is only an encroachment of Slavery upon *white*, free, Unitarian clergymen's rights, that it comes within the province of the Association to remark upon. Over the necessary effects of Slavery upon personal and social condition, and moral and religious character, says the Association, Christianity must needs weep, and ought to remonstrate, appealing to all disciples of Jesus *to do what they can* by prayer and sympathy, and by unremitting and undisguised exertion of all their moral and religious influence:—towards what, we ask?—for in their capacity of Christians *par excellence*—in session as the Unitarian Association, they have just declared it out of their province to entertain any question, or to adopt any measure in relation to the institution of Slavery!

We leave it to the body of the Association, whether the compromise attempted by these resolutions, between pro-slavery and Anti-Slavery be not greatly to its discredit as a religious body; and we entreat Mr. Stephen C. Phillips, who drew them up, to consider whether his ability as a statesman, or rather ecclesiastical politician, and his moral sense as a Christian, have not alike appeared to disadvantage in this attempt to avoid the immediate fulfillment of duty towards the slaves. The Association is well-nigh ripe for noble action;—so it was last year:—and is *this* what the slaves and the Abolitionists have been waiting a year for? Shall *this* prove all the cheer for the worn shoulder and the wearied heart?—the sick of hope deferred? Is this the Association's idea of "remembering those in bonds as bound with them?"

Mr. S. C. Phillips's noble efforts in behalf of the free colored people of Salem, had prepared the Abolitionists for something more than this; and it is not well in him thus to have disappointed them.

But the noblest, and the greatest part of men, is that which cannot be invested in the mere form of any association. No man *need* feel his own progress hindered by others' delay. No man *need* be deluded into a year's inaction by a curiously-worded resolution. Neither *need* any man despair of help from his fellows, in the noblest work to which God ever called a man or a nation. Whenever we find, to use the words of Milton, "men despising

*See proceedings on the 1st page.

the false estimates of the vulgar, and daring to aspire, in sentiments, language, and conduct, to what the highest wisdom through every age has taught us as most excellent, to them we unite ourselves, by a sort of necessary attachment;" and when our own hopes of the Unitarian Association were, years ago, blighted by the assurance, now again repeated, that with the great question of this age it could have nothing to do, we turned to the American Anti-Slavery Society, which exists only for its agitation; and, in the conjecture we then formed, we have not been disappointed—that those whom such a perilous task calls up, and ever onward, must needs be a nation's noblest. To such companionship, on the assurance of years of intimate and watchful association, we invite the members of the Unitarian Association individually. The American Anti-Slavery Society proposes no creed for their adoption. It preaches to them absolute Anti-Slavery duty, but it subjects them as members to no test. Its members are to be found *in* all parties and sects, and in array *against* all as pro-slavery. There is no excision or excommunication. The front rank may regret delay, and the rear rank may deprecate going "too fast, and too far;" but the word given out at Fontenoy—"Keep together, front and rear!" is the only one that the headmost or the last have ever heard from their fellows.

To such a goodly fellowship, whose special business it is to entertain the question of Slavery, and the measures for its abolition, are the members of all communions alike welcomed—a fellowship whose members feel that they deserve, and shall at length receive, the aid of every soul that truly wishes the extinction of Slavery.—C.

PROSCRIPTION.

Enough, perhaps, has been already said on this vexed question. The charge of narrowing the platform,—of departing from the Constitution,—of abandoning the original principles upon which the Anti-Slavery enterprise is based,—of "*new organizing*," as the term is technically, though incorrectly used,—has been made again and again against the majority of the American Society, and again and again refuted. It is not with the hope of throwing any new light upon the subject, or of putting the question at rest, that I say a word upon it now, but only because I wish to throw out a thought, though it may have no other result than my own satisfaction.

That we are surrounded by vicious institutions, nobody doubts. That they can be removed, and truer ones established in their places, many believe. As to the *modus operandi*, the manner of doing it, there is, and necessarily must be, great differences of opinion. But agreeing once upon that method, the measures that shall be adopted, it would seem, should not be very difficult to determine.

The question resolves itself into one of organization or no organization, so far, at least, as a wrong like that of Slavery is concerned, when certain actual results are to be obtained, by an outward influence upon men's everyday lives through appeals to their hearts and consciences. On the one hand, it may be said, that Truth is a whole, and he who sees its application to one evil, should be made to see that that same Truth equally condemns another wrong, in the habitual exercise of which he may be living. So all reforms shall go hand in hand, and the true man directs not his efforts to the establishment of a single one, and so creates only a *fragmentary* good, but repudiating all organizations for special purposes, and which are therefore evil, he lives and acts in all, and for all, and so abolishes not Slavery, nor Intemperance, nor any other evil, only, but all in the same manner and at the same time, he does each.

To this there are two answers. If Truth is a whole, then can there be no *fragmentary* Reform. If the same Truth, the faithful application of which will abolish Slavery, will also abolish Intemperance, or do away with the evils of our social system, or relieve us from the horrors and acknowledged evils of war, or abolish any other social wrong; then just so far forth as we are faithful to our highest idea, shall we be, whether we know it or not, from the very law of our being, laboring not simply to the end which we propose to ourselves, but for all good. By organization for a special purpose, we produce a general result. And the history of all the Past tells us that thus has God worked in man from the beginning. Truth *is* a whole, and he who makes it his law, even for partial good, shall produce, not fragmentary, but whole results.

There is another answer which appeals, not less plainly, it seems to me, to our common sense. I know that my brother is the victim of a tyranny which does worse than kill the body,—for it makes it the living tomb of a spirit darkened and degraded, till its divine nature can hardly be known. I know that you, and I, and all of us, are guilty of this great wrong. I know that it can be removed only by a great and fundamental change in the common thought, and common life of men, to be produced by a living faith in the power of the simple truth, and earnest, unceasing working for the end proposed. Some great soul in whom the light has beamed, in this case, or in any other, would seek for a helper in the work he felt 'twas given him to do. And they two work together. This is organization, whether composed of two, or two thousand; and the machinery increases in power and weight, as room is given it to work in. The necessity of its creation gives it a specific work to do, which it shall do effectually, in just so much as it shall obey the law which made it. All who will do that work it calls to its aid, and all will come, who recognize the necessity of the work, and see that it is doing it. None others can come, for men will not work knowingly for what they do not believe. In every New England village, there are perhaps two men who will give of their time, their talents, their worldly reputation, and their worldly substance, to convince their neighbors all around them, that by their political, moral, and religious influence—or what is meant to be such,—they do actually hold the slave in bondage. And in that same village there shall be two hundred men who know that the bar-room is open, and that their neighbors all about them do bring spiritual and physical want, and wretchedness, and woe, upon themselves and their wives and children, because public sentiment has never condemned the habitual use of intoxicating drinks as wrong. These two hundred see this, but they do not see the other. Even then, were there no reasons of convenience why these two Reforms should not go hand in hand, the two hundred men could not work with the two, because with them on both questions they do not see eye to eye. Each then will have their separate machinery, to do their separate works, and these their necessity, if not their will creates. If man were perfect, or less imperfect, this necessity, to be sure, would not be. But man is imperfect. That evil may result from this state of things, I do not deny, but rather contend. But I am not now called to enlarge upon that point, and have only thus briefly adverted to the subject, to show if possible, the inconsistency of those who profess to act with organizations, and to believe in their necessity, while in fact they are denying their very first principle.

The first thing is, to see the necessity of a work to be done. The next is, to decide how it shall be accomplished. Certain principles are laid down, by which all agree to be governed, and a specified plan of operation, so far as is practicable, is decided upon, and the organization is complete. So in the Anti-Slavery Reform, we took this as our great governing principle, that SLAVERY IS WRONG UNDER ALL POSSIBLE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND OUGHT TO BE IMMEDIATELY ABOLISHED; and we agreed to endeavor to bring about the desired end, by the use of all Constitutional and peaceable measures in our power. All who have, from the first formation of the American Society up to the present moment, united with us, have acquiesced both in the principle, and the plan of operations of the Society. That this platform does not cover all humanity, nobody denies, for it was not intended so to do, as the object aimed at is a *special* Reform. But that it is as broad, as under the circumstances could be created, there can be no question. It welcomes all who believe in the necessity, and will labor for the Abolition of chattel Slavery, be they Jew or Gentile, bond or free, black or white, male or female. It asks of no man his religious, or irreligious belief, his political creed, or his social position; it only asks, do you believe Slavery to be wrong, and that it should be immediately abolished? and will you faithfully use all your powers for that purpose? Nay, it does'nt even ask the latter question, but only claims for others the right and the duty of rebuking those who are in their view unfaithful. This is its test, and its only one; and this it must make, or it could never have been an Anti-Slavery organization, for the distinctive characteristic of an organization—that which makes it organic—is, that it shall have some fixed, settled principle, growing out of the necessity of its existence, which shall be the test, the *witness* of the agreement of those who form it.

On these points we were, and are agreed—the necessity of the Reform, the necessity of an organization, its essential principle, and of course the necessity of requisite measures. What are these last? They have been, must be, and are, just exactly those which the majority of the Society shall see fit to adopt. And herein, again, do we see the freedom insured to the members of the Society by its Constitution. No fixed and limited action is laid down for our government, by which alone we are to be guided through coming years, without regard to the exigencies of the times; but a principle of conduct is given, which we may not transcend, but which shall in no wise trammel us, or forbid the adoption of any course which may seem to be demanded.

All reforms, as they advance, encounter new obstacles. This has been peculiarly the case with ours.—These obstacles must be removed, or surmounted, and in this work consists the measures of the organization. I need not recapitulate here what the Abolitionists have been called upon to do, and what they have agreed together in doing—excepting always, the new organizationists, whose real motives for secession was the course pursued with the pro-slavery Church—for they are familiar to all. From one step we have been led to another; as one obstacle has been removed, or is in a fair way of removal, another has, in the progress of the cause, presented itself. New light has been continually shed upon our path, and all who have continued faithful, have made always, the new application of the first principle of the Reform, to new circumstances. From political action *between* the parties, and against them, we have come to the State itself.

And now what shall be done? Apply, answer the Disunionists, the same principle to this pro-slavery position, as we have done heretofore to others. If we may act without guilt in this case, so we might in Colonization, in the pro-slavery parties, or a pro-slavery Church. As we have condemned them, we condemn this, and for the same reason. If one was right, the other is also. If the last is wrong, then it was wrong also in the first. If we are establishing a new test now, every step we have taken has been a new test also, and a departure from the Constitution. If you disapprove of one, you must disapprove of the whole; and as these steps are in fact the essential measures of the organization, and, as without them, the uses and purpose of an organization cease, and can be of no avail, then you are *no-organizers*, and from the beginning have been acting contrary to your own philosophy, and when analized, your own convictions of right.

Here, then, is the true issue: are we to act through the instrumentality of organizations upon the public mind, and the public heart, and so yield the right to the majority—which we may do, without compromising our own rights, and our own consciences—of expressing and carrying out their idea of duty, and expediency, by means of the organization; or shall we declare that organizations are evil in themselves—or, what is the same thing, deny them the power and right of acting, and brand them as false to the principles on which they are based whenever they attempt to do so, while at the same time, we maintain the necessity of their existence, which is an absurdity?

In declaring that the Constitution of the United States is pro-slavery, and that every Abolitionist who takes an oath, or does what is equivalent to it, is actually supporting Slavery, and that it is our duty to refuse to do this, and dissolve the existing connection between Slavery and Freedom, the American Society is acting strictly in accordance with her own principles, with the philosophy of organization, and the genius of Reform.—G.

BOOKS.

WATER-CURE FOR LADIES: A popular work on the health, diet, and regimen of females and children, and the prevention, and cure of diseases; with a full account of the processes of Water-Cure; illustrated with various cases: By Mrs. M. L. SHEW, Revised by JOEL SHEW, M. D. practitioner of Water-Cure. New-York: Wiley & Putnam.

I have no doubt that one-half the sick people everywhere would be instantly restored to health, if they were once properly and thoroughly washed, and kept themselves thereafter decently clean. Farther than this, I profess no belief, because of my ignorance in the science of Hydropathy. That it has performed many wonderful cures, I cannot doubt, and that it is destined to do great good, I firmly believe, because, if for no other reason, it is very intimately connected with the whole art of living, in dietetics, clothing, exercise, and bathing, when in health. It is certain that water is a powerful curative agent, and has been always more or less used, and recognized as such. It seems strange that more attention, however, should not have been given to the subject as a question of Science.

Apart from the subject of Water-Cure, some knowledge of which, as an experimental science, may be gained from this work, the book abounds with much valuable knowledge on the general principles of health, and contains many excellent hints and directions in relation to our habits of every-day life. The authors themselves abstain from all animal food, and have given much useful information on the most proper food for those who adopt the vegetable diet. Many receipts are given, which no doubt are excellent.

The book is written in a calm and candid spirit, and with the evident desire, solely of doing good, by diffusing information on subjects, which, till very recently have been too much neglected. It may be read with pleasure and profit by those who are not hydropathists, or who do not agree with its authors in their physiological philosophy.

THE CHILD'S FRIEND; Designed for Families and Sunday Schools; Edited by ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, Boston; Leonard C. Bowles.

The July number of this excellent little periodical has arrived. It always reminds me of the Juvenile Miscellany the only "periodical literature," my childhood knew, or cared for. I doubt not this is looked for as anxiously, and as eagerly read when received as its predecessor was by an earlier generation. Works of this kind make strong and lasting impressions upon the minds of children, and one of so high a character as this, should have a wide circulation. The name of its editor is a sufficient guaranty for its literary excellence, its fitness for young readers, the purity of its moral teachings, and, in every department, its unexceptionable good taste.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

Let not this day be forgotten by the Abolitionists. I know indeed it will not be forgotten; but it should be more than remembered,—it should be used. Of all the days in the year, it is peculiarly Anti-Slavery, and of all the days should it be peculiarly set apart, and devoted to the cause. It is in itself an argument, and needs only to be pointed at to silence cavilling, and convict of hypocrisy. It is a great fact, sublime in its annual coming, and more powerful than any words: a time of which we only need to say *it is:* the consummation of long years of labor,—labor like ours, which also shall end. It bids us do and hope, for it is a creation, and a hope no longer. Everywhere north of Mason and Dixon's line,—and south of it, if they would or could,—in every town and village, where the fire yet glimmers on Freedom's altars, wherever there is still left anything of the spirit of Liberty and Love, should all the people be told that on this day, only a little while ago, and but a little way off,—there was signed no paper Declaration of Independence, which needed the endorsement of a seven-years' war, and was blotted out by the enslavement of one-sixth of the people,—but a greater and a nobler thing was done; the almost actual visible iron chains did fall from the limbs of eight hundred thousand people, when the clock struck twelve that night; and the whole eight hundred thousand gathered together there, in the churches and by the wayside, sent up a mighty shout,—which the thunder answered,—of adoration and thanksgiving, and stood up disenthralled free men, released in one moment from the bondage which had crushed them to the earth, and into darkness, their whole life-long,—and their fathers for ages. Neither tradition nor record tells us of any event so sublime as this, when considered either in itself alone, or in its causes and its effects; and compared with it, our own Declaration of Independence is as the smoke to the fire, or the thin mist to the heaving ocean. "Our powder-smoked, and rum-soaked" Fourth of July is to the First of August, as a brothel-debauch to the Feast of the Passover to the ancient Jews.

I forgot that our last paper was dated on the 4th of July, or remembered it only,—forgetting the reason,—as a day of rest to the tired printers, and myself. And it is well to forget it. It is well, if we can, to blot out the memory of a day, which can only remind us that the plighted faith of the nation to the world struggling with giant wrongs, is broken. Or if we remember it, let it be only for this,—that we have broken that covenant, and have abandoned the ark of the Lord. But on the 1st of August we may rejoice for others, while we mourn for ourselves. We may remember that a day of Independence is coming—if we be faithful,—wherein we may rejoice for all, and our slaves shall send back an answering shout across the waters, to that of their brethren who are no longer slaves.

The lesson this day teaches us is one of faith, of patience, and of hope. It is a resting-place wherein we may look back on the path already passed, and that which lies before us. It shall renew our strength, and revive our courage. It sets before us most plainly the end for which we struggle, and bids us be sure we cannot fail. The half-festive, half-mournful character of the meeting makes it all the more attractive, and men who have never given a thought to the slave, will ask why do ye rejoice? and why do ye mourn? and the silent answer, pointing only to the hundreds of thousands freedmen, and the millions of slaves, will touch a chord in many a heart, that has never been reached before. Then let the Abolitionists leave the scythe in the grass, the sickle in the grain, the hammer by the half-driven nail; come from the field, the workshop, the school-room, and the study, and pledge again their sacred faith to the cause of "those in bonds."—G.

ARRIVAL OF THE GREAT WESTERN.

Three Days Later.

The Great Western arrived on Sunday morning, at this port, but brings no news of any moment. The only thing of any interest that had occurred since the sailing of the Britannia, was the presentation of a petition by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin to the Queen, and the House of Commons, praying for the release of O'Connell and his associates. The Queen received the petitioners very coldly; but their reception in the House, from the opposition, was warm, and almost enthusiastic.

RIOTS IN PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia is again the field of the most fearful riots, or rather of a civil war. The origin was the finding a quantity of arms in a Catholic Church, for which the Church was doomed to destruction. A more bloodthirsty, unprovoked, and cowardly attack was never made in any country, than this upon the Philadelphia Irish Catholics. For my own part I have not one particle of sympathy to spare for the scoundrels who have been shot. The riot might have been saved, had General Cadwallader's first orders to fire upon the dastards, been obeyed, and a score or two shot, instead of being saved by the consummate and unmitigated folly, or scoundrelism, or both, of Mr. Naylor, late member of Congress, who begged the soldiers not to fire. When men resort to arms, they should use them like men, and not like children. We have no room for particulars.

THE MORMON WAR.

This is apparently over. Joe Smith, and his brother Hyram, have been shot; and if the accounts in the newspapers can be relied on, most treacherously murdered, while in the custody of the civil powers. The Mormons at the last accounts were very quiet, and exhorting each other to patience and forbearance.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

[*Fifteen days later from England.*]

The royal mail steamer Britannia, Captain J. Hewett, which left Liverpool on the 19th ultimo, arrived at Boston on, Wednesday morning, at 6 o'clock, bringing news fifteen days later than our former advices.

She brought no news of great importance, We glean the following intelligence from English papers.

In Parliament, the Ministry have beendefeated in the House upon the bill relating to the duties on sugar. An amendment was offered that the duty on British Plantation sugar be reduced from twenty-four shillings, to twenty shillings, and from thirty-four shillings to thirty shillings on foreign free-labor Muscovado; continuing on *clayed* sugars the Government poposition of thirty-four shillings. After a long debate, the amendment was carried by a majority against the Ministers of *twenty*. But on the following day it was *reconsidered* by a majority of twenty-two! This secures the passing of the ministerial measure.

After a good deal of agitation in the country, the Dissenters' Chapels Bill passed to a second reading in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, the 6th ultimo, by a majority of 307 to 117.

In Mr. O'Connell's case, the writ of error is being carried before the House of Lords, and Thursday, July 4th, is fixed for the opening of the case.

The Emperor of Russia has returned home.

Public feeling towards Mr. O'Connell.

The demonstrations of sympathy with O'Connell have been strongly evinced throughout the country. The repeal button has been universally adopted, and public meetings have been called and held for the purpose of expressing opinions on the State Trials, and on the incarceration of "the martyrs," in Glasgow, Birmingham, Dublin, and Liverpool. Addresses to Mr. O'Connell have been voted by the corporate bodies in Dublin, Kilkenny, Newry, and Limerick, and public prayers have been recommended by the priests to be put up for the protection of Heaven on "the Liberator," and for his delivery. The repeal papers have appeared in mourning. The contributions to the repeal rent has greatly increased.

The Corporation of Dublin, on the 6th instant, adopted an abdress to the Queen on the subject of Mr. O'Connell's imprisonmen, and an address of sympathy to Mr. O'Connell himself. A petition to the House of Commons was also agreed to, praying that Mr. O'Connell may be liberated.

A very large meeting was held at Belfast, on the 7th instant, in the Theatre, to adopt resolutions and vote an address to Mr. O'Connell. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed. The meeting was addressed by several who were not repealers, but considered the incarceration of the conspirators, as they are called, unjust.

Similar meetings have also been held in the districts of Ratcliff, Stepney, and Limehouse, London, and in the Amphitheatre at Liverpool; at the latter, Mr. Blundell, a gentleman of large landed property, presided.

Refusal to Admit Deputations.—A number of deputations from various places to present addresses to Mr. O'Connell and his fellow-prisoners have been refused admission; there has been no attempt to prevent individuals having interviews with them. A deputation from Bruff, county Limerick, having attended at Richmond Bridewell to present an address to Mr. O'Connell on Tuesday were refused admittance. Mr. Smith O'Brien, one of their number addressed the following letter to Sir James Graham:—

"To the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart.
Dublin, June 11, 1844.

"Sir,—Having been called upon, on the part of a portion of my constituents, to accompany a deputation, with a view to present an address to Mr. O'Connell this day, I was informed by the Governor of Richmond Penitentiary that the board of superintendence have given directions that no deputation be admitted to present addresses to the state prisoners. Taking for granted that the board of superintendence would, in recard to such a proceeding, be willing to conform to the desire of the Secretary of State, I take the liberty to ask whether the exclusion of persons wishing to testify the respect and affection of their fellow-countrymen to Mr. O'Connell and the other state prisoners, has your sanction. I may, perhaps, be permitted to add, that the local arrangements of the prison are such as to allow of the reception of deputations, without, in any degree, interfering with the ordinary discipline of the prison. I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

"W. S. O'BRIEN."

Repeal Association.

The weekly meeting of the Repeal Association was held in the Conciliation-hall, on Monday, the 3d June, Mr. Caleb Powell, M. P. in the chair. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Mr. W. S. O'Brien, M. P. and Mr. M'Nevin, Mr. D. O'Connell, jun. and others. Resolutions were passed expressive of a strong determination in favor of repeal and of sympathy with O'Connell, and numerous sums of money from America, and elsewhere, including £1,000 from Boston, United States, were handed in. The repeal rent for the week was announced to be £2,596 15s. 8d.

On Tuesday, an adjourned meeting was held, Captain Seaver in the chair. It was determined to date their proceedings, in future, from the first, second, third, &c. weeks of the captivity. It was also resolved, that an address to the Queen, on the subject of "O'Connell and his fellow martyrs," should be transmitted "in the third week of the captivity."

The usual meeting of the Repeal Association was held in the Conciliation-hall on the 20th June. It was one of the fullest ever witnessed. Lord Ffrench, H. Grattan, Esq, M. P., Sir F. Blake, Mr. O'Gorman and other influential persons were present. Lord Ffrench took the chair. The meeting was addressed by Lord Ffrench, Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, jun., who read a letter from Lord Stourton, and Mr. H. Grattan. The meeting was most enthusiastic, and received the statements of donations to the repeal rent with loud cheers. At six o'clock the meeting adjourned, when the total sum received was announced to be £3,229.

The usual meeting of the Association was held on the 17th June. The proceedings commenced at one o'clock, and five hours were almost entirely occupied in handing in money to swell the amount of the repeal rent; many of the announcements were received with loud cheers, and the whole meeting was most enthusiastic. The precise amount of the week's rent was not precisely ascertained, but it considerably exceeded *three thousand pounds*.

FRANCE.

It is announced in the French journals that the Emperor of Morocco has proclaimed a holy war against France, and, in conjunction with Abd-el-Kader, is making active preparations for invading the territory claimed by the latter country. It appears from despatches just received from Algiers, that actual hostilities have already commenced on the frontiers of Morocco. The despatch of General Lamoeiere states that the attack was made quite suddenly, and almost unexpectedly, by the Arabs, who were, however, defeated, after some sharp fighting, leaving upwards of fifty of their men dead on the field. Two prisoners, taken by the victors, gave the following as the cause of the onset. A person allied to the Imperial family, and named Sidi-el-Mamoun Ben Cherif, arrived on the morning with a contingent of 500 Berberes, sent from Fez by the son of Muley Abderachman to form part of the troop of observation. Sidi-el-Maneona, excited by an ardent fanaticism, declared that he wished at least to see closely the Christian camp, and marched forward, notwithstanding the opposition and observations of D' el-Gennoni, son of the Emperor, who, although he objected, according to his father's orders, dared not give an absolute refusal to a prince of the Imperial family. The want of discipline of the Berberes and the fanaticism of the negro troops became more and more exalted in our presence, and the battle was fought.

This engagement will afford France an excellent excuse for retaliatory measures. The ultimate result of the contest may be easily divined. Our Gallic neighbors will acquire possessions of the most fertile part of the coast, and at the same time, gain a footing on one side of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Louis Phillippe gave a splendid fete at Versailles on the 8th instant, to 1,500 of the expositors of national industry. The guests assembled at half-past five in the picture gallery of the Museum, and were allowed an hour and a half to view its treasures. At seven o'clock the doors of the theatre were thrown open, and all were admitted, without distinction of places, the simple mechanic in many places occupying the boxes, while the peer of France was glad to take refuge in the pit. The King, Queen, the royal family, all the Ministers, with the exception of Marshal Soult, a great number of the members of both Chambers, with other functionaries, were present.

The Paris papers speculate on the reasons which could have brought the Emperor Nicholas to London, and they make, certainly a number of ingenious guesses, but little worth recording.

The Duke of Angouleme died at Goritz at eleven o'clock in the morning of the 3d June. The royal Duke has been for a long time in a state which left no hope of his recovery. One of the Paris papers says that the French court will go into mourning on the occasion.

Mr. King, the new Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of the Tuilleries, has arrived in Paris.

SPAIN.

There is nothing of much interest in the accounts received from Spain since our last publication. The journals are nearly occupied with the details of the royal tour.

PORTUGAL.

Advices from Lisbon of the 10th instant have been received. We perceive that the change of Ministry announced in our last, on the authority of the French telegraph, is a hoax, concocted by some Portuguese wags, and really the joke possessed some wit, as Catania, the most noted mountebank of the Lisbon stage, is the person reported to have succeeded the foreign Minister, De Castro. To the stock jobbers it has, however, been a sorry jest, and the caterers for the telegraph ought to be more circumspect in furnishing intelligence. The Government has made an application for pecuniary assistance to the Junta of Public Credit which was refused. A trial of State offenders, amounting to upwards of 160 persons, connected with the late disturbances, is about to take place. A treaty between Portugal and Russia has just been concluded, it is said, almost for political purposes, as it is of no commercial advantage to either country.

ITALY.

The *Cologne Gazette* assures us that the Papal Government has addressed a note to the Cabinets of London, Vienna, and Paris, on the subject of the late disturbances in its territories. The note declares that there has been no real cause for political discontent, and that the disaffection is chiefly to be ascribed to the machinations of anarchists in France and England.

The *Journal of the Two Sicilies* announces that several steamers left Naples on the 21st ultimo, with troops destined to relieve the garrisons of Sicily. The railroad between Torre-Annunciata to Nocera, by Pompi, Scafati, Angri, and Pagani, has just been opened to the public. The King was present at the inauguration.

GREECE.

We learn, *via* Paris, that the President of the Greek Ministry, M. Mavrocordato, had resigned, and that all his colleagues were to follow his example. The late cabinet, said to be composed under British influence, had, from its entrance into office, met with such opposition that it was obliged to yield. The *Presse* says, "General Coletti, who is not hostile to French influence, will, no doubt, be commissioned to form the new ministry.

TURKEY.

Advices from Constantinople, to the 22d May, report that the Turkish forces sent against the Albanian rebels had twice defeated them, between the 13th and 17th. Krischowa had been taken by assault, after a desperate resistance on the part of the rebels, of whom 100 were killed, and about the same number wounded; but the loss of the Turks is stated to have been more considerable. Russia, it is said, has offered to furnish troops for the suppression of the rebellion, should the Turkish force prove unequal to the task. Permission has been granted for the erection of a Protestant church at Jerusalem.

Miscellany.

The nomination of Mr. Polk, by the Baltimore Convention, as the democratic candidate for the Presidency, has created some surprise, and, amongst those anxious to extend our connections with the United States, no little regret. It has been generally believed in England, that had Mr. Van Buren been nominated he would have succeeded at the polls; and that gentleman having more enlarged and liberal notions on the subject of free trade than Mr Clay, was regarded with a friendly eye by parties here, who care nothing about the result of the contest politically considered. It is believed in England—how truly a few months will determine—that the selection of a *nouveau homme* like Mr. Polk must terminate in the election of Mr. Clay by a large majority.

A man named Fitzgerald has been apprehended at Hanwell, in Middlesex, on a charge of having intimated his intention to shoot the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. He is a man of muscular frame, about fifty years of age, six feet high, and of violent character; he was some years ago a soldier, and while stationed in the West Indies, suffered from the yellow fever, from the effects of which his mind appears at times affected. When brought before the magistrate, he stated the cause of his antipathy to the Premier to be, that he thought O'Connell had been imprisoned unjustly, and had not had a fair trial, and that Sir Robert Peel was at the bottom of it all. He was, after undergoing an examination by an eminent surgeon, who pronounced him insane, sent to Hanwell Lunatic Asylum.

CAMPBELL THE POET.—We regret to state that Thomas Campbell, Esq. the talented poet, died at Boulogne, on the 15th instant.

It is calculated that £200,000 have been already expended in portraits of Queen Victoria.

The Emperor of Russia sent for a ticket to the Polish ball, and paid £500 for it.

A grand fancy ball will be got up in July, to be called the "Waverly Ball," the costumes for which, are to be in accordance with the descriptions given by Sir Walter Scott of the heroes and heroines in his tales.

Her Majesty's accouchment is expected to take place early in July, at Windsor Castle.

Leigh Hunt has recently received an income for life of £150 annually, from the father of Shelley, the poet.

Mr. Healey, an American artist, is at present in London, executing a commission for the King of the French.

A foreign paper states that in Germany the seeds of the grape are fast coming into use as a substitute for coffee.

The Leeds petition, for the reduction and equalization of the sugar duties, received 25,000 signatures.

Mr. Hood, the comic writer, has been laboring under severe and dangerous illness. We rejoice to learn that he is convalescent.

Louis Phillippe, the King of the French, had his pocket picked of his watch, during his visit to the exhibition of the Works of Arts, at Paris, the other day.

A gigantic railway through Russia, from Odessa to the shores of the Black Sea, a distance of one thousand miles, is in contemplation.

At the present season no less than from 600 to 800 hands are temporarily employed at Covent-garden market in shelling peas.

It is supposed that the Emperor of Russia, during his week's visit to England, distributed about £25,000 in acts of liberality!

The *Presse* announces as certain that "his Majesty the King of the French, will pay a visit to the Queen of England at her residence at the Isle of Wight."

On the 5th instant, an estate of 12,470 acres, situated in Maryland, U. S. was put up for sale by auction, in London. There was not a single bidder.

The Emperor of Russia, while in England, always slept on the ground, on a leather tick, stuffed with straw, as being more conducive to health than a feather bed.

A festival in honor of the memory of Robert Burns, and to welcome his sons to the banks of the Doon, has been appointed to take place on the 10th of July next.

It is rumored at the Cape of Good Hope that the eminent French and Swedish naturalists, Delgargie and Wilberg, had been murdered by the natives in Matzilikatze country.

It is stated that Crockford, of gambling notoriety, has left £350,000 to his widow. He once kept a fishmonger's shop near Temple-bar, London.

It is reported in the *Paris Reforme*, that the royal family is seriously uneasy, lest the relatives of M. Lafitte should publish any of the numerous letters in their possession, written to Lafitte, by the King of the French before and after his accession to the throne.

Shakspeare's jug, manufactured of cream-colored earthen-ware, a venerable and precious relic, was recently sold at auction, and was purchased by a Mrs. Fletcher, of Gloucester, for nineteen guineas.

The Emperor of Russia has forwarded from an advanced stage of his homeward voyage, through the hands of the Hon. C. A. Murray, a supurb gold snuff-box, preciously mounted, to be presented to Mr. George Catlin, as an "Expression of his high approbation of the style and execution" of his forthcoming *Portfolio of the Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the North American Indians*, a copy of which his imperial Majesty had for his amusement during his voyage home.

A Novel Petition.—Mr. Sherman Crawford presented to the British House of Commons, a petition from two thousand citizens of Rochdale, praying that hanging may be done by "a clergyman of the State Church, instead of being done by a hireling of a sheriff." They say that it ought to be done so as to make "a serious and solemn impression," when these hirelings often do it without due decorum." The London Herald says that the petition is a blackguard petition.

General Items.

The Western Flood.—The distress and ruin created by this flood, is immense. Not only the Missouri, but the Arkansas, White River, and Red River, and finally the great Mississippi itself, have overflowed their bounds, covering the wide and fertile plains, and sweeping away crops, cattle, fences, and, in some instances, houses and families. Numerous towns and villages have been inundated, wholly, or in part, some of them to the depth of 10 or 20 feet.

The Alton Telegraph, Extra, of the 24th ultimo, says:

The Mississippi is now higher than it has ever been since the first settlement of the State. The Missouri is equally high, if not higher; and having broken into the former river, at and below Portage des Sioux, about eight miles above this place, its yellow water now forms nearly one-third of the mighty stream which is rushing past our landing, contrasting strongly with the bluish appearance of the Mississippi.

Of the damage done, it is impossible to offer any estimate. It is incalculable. On the Missouri, from Weston to the mouth, the bottoms are generally inundated; the crops destroyed; the cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. drowned; and the inhabitants have been compelled to abandon their dwellings, many of which have been swept away, in order to take refuge on the high-lands, or on steam or flat boats. The same is the case with the Mississippi, the Illinois, and their tributaries; and the whole of the great "American Bottom," from this point to Cairo, containing about 288,000 acres of the finest land in the world, some of which is in a high state of cultivation, is believed to be under water, and perhaps, nearly ruined.

Amnesty in Rhode Island.—The General Assembly of Rhode Island adjourned on Saturday last. The most important act of the session was the passing of a resolution granting a free pardon to all persons under indictment for participation in the recent insurrection, who shall at the next supreme Court, take an oath of allegiance to the State, and swear to support the Constitution of that State and of the United States. This resolution, as we understand it, does not cover the case of Thomas Wilson Dorr,—he not being under indictment, but under sentence, which is in process of execution.

By the following from the Charleston Courier, we take it for granted that the "Southern Convention," of which so much has been said, has been formally announced, and is in reality to be held—that is, if Texas speculators, discontents, &c. &c. can be drummed up to appoint themselves delegates from the several States embraced in this project:

A meeting, held at Crawford Court House, Russell county, Alabama, on the 8th ultimo, adopted a series of resolutions moved by Gen. JAMES HAMILTON, one of which proposed a Convention of the people of the Southern States, on the subject of Slavery, and requests suitable arrangements to be made, forthwith, for an election, by the Congressional Districts in each State, on the first Monday in September next, of delegates to a Convention of Southern States, to be held in Richmond, Virginia. An address from the Committee of publication, of which Gen. HAMILTON was Chairman, to the people of *the Slaveholding States*, accompanies the resolutions. The purpose of the Convention as declared in one of the resolutions, is "to prevent the catastrophe of a dissolution of the Union."

NOTICES.

THE ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

This annual effort for the sustentation of the anti-slavery cause, will be made in Amory Hall, Boston, commencing on Tuesday, December 24th, 1844. By its means it is, that the debts of the cause, last year, were discharged; so that it is, at this moment, free to put its unencumbered strength, in the prosecution of THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS, through the medium of which, this appeal reaches you. If you wish slavery to cease, you cannot more effectually aid in its extinction, than by upholding this Fair. The experience of ten years enables the women of Massachusetts to present it to you as an effectual channel, through which your sympathy may unite with that of others, to swell the flood of effort by which high principle shall be diffused, and right feeling excited, till the horrible institution of slavery shall be swept away.

None of the funds raised by means of this Fair are ever permitted to run to waste in building up a political party, or in defraying electioneering expenses. They are used to promulgate, through the press, and by the living voice, the truths of freedom, which convert men's hearts to the cause. We give a guaranty for the economical and judicious disposal of them, by providing for their expenditure by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Without going back for years, to recapitulate former help, the beneficial consequences of which are in perpetual glow, we will simply state that the proceeds of this last year's Fair were TWENTY-ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, exclusive of many small appropriations, and the necessary expenses; and that, lacking the prospect of this aid, neither the Hundred Western Conventions, nor the Hundred Conventions now in progress through Massachusetts would have been undertaken. The influence of the cause might be increased ten-fold, by means of that aid from the commonwealth generally, which it is disposed, if the way were open, to afford. A few words of suggestion may open this way. Permit us to make them for the cause's sake.

First. We entreat whomsoever this sheet reaches, instantly to announce an intention of aiding the ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR, and to form, if possible, a little circle for weekly anti-slavery effort through the year. Gain all the aid possible, but *wait for no one else*. Whoever begins will be the nucleus round which much help will gather at length.

Second. To remember that there is nothing useful or ornamental—no mechanical, agricultural, or manufacturing product—nothing either to eat, drink, or wear—no work of taste or art, for household use or decoration—but will (so perfect have our arrangements at length become) be made as available to the cause as its worth in money.

Third. To correspond with us for the purpose of benefiting us by your suggestions, and receiving the aid of ours. For it may often be in the power of all the friends of the cause, mutually to aid each other by the interchange of materials and labor, and by furnishing the newest patterns of articles of dress, or models of articles of furniture.

There surely needs no searching argument or eloquent appeal to commend the cause of freedom and humanity to professed republicans and Christians. All see and feel that it is a good and noble thing to spring to the relief and rescue of one human being undergoing wrong, or peril, or suffering. But here are will-nigh THREE MILLIONS, undergoing all the suffering, wrong, and peril of SLAVERY, that incarnation of all that is dreadful to the sons and daughters of Massachusetts, while all that universal man holds dear and holy is endangered by the existence of such a blighting institution. Righteous principle dies out—good feeling is extinguished—our country is endangered—our character as a people dishonored; and will not you, who admire a single act of devotedness, though done but for a single human being, be true to your own moral nature, and gladly give time, labor, money, prayer, sacrifice, that so you may save a nation—redeem a race—ennoble an age?

Let us hear from you speedily, and consider us your servants for the cause's sake,

Henrietta Sargent,	*Maria White,*
Frances Mary Robbins,	*Louisa Loring,*
Hannah Tufts,	*Catherine Sargent,*
M. A. W. Johnson,	*Caroline Weston,*
Anna R. Philbrick,	*Mary Young,*
Harriet B. Jackson,	*Mary F. Rogers,*
Louisa M. Sewall,	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Abby Southwick,	*Mary Willey,*
Marian Fuller,	*Ann R. Bramhall.*

BOSTON, February 8, 1844.

ANTI SLAVERY FAIR.

Abolitionists of Rhode Island—Dear Friends:—

The members of the Providence Ladies Anti-Slavery Society feeling that the times demand on their part, and on the part of abolitionists generally, more energetic and decisive action, have determined to hold a FAIR in this city, on the first Wednesday (Commencement day) of September, 1844.

As to the design of this Fair, little need be said to incite exertion on your part. Three millions of American citizens are in slavery: we wish to aid in their speedy and unconditional emancipation. What effort can be more praiseworthy in its purpose? What object more glorious in its accomplishment? It is an effort in behalf of Freedom. The time has been when the mention of a design like this would thrill, as with electic speed and power, the h

Poetry.

COWPER'S GRAVE.

BY ELIZABETH B. BARRETT.

I will invite thee, from thy envious herse
To rise, and 'bout the world thy beams to spread
That we may see there's brightnesse in the dead.
HABINGTON.

It is a place where poets crowned
May feel the heart's decaying—
It is a place where happy saints
May weep amid their praying—
Yet let the grief and humbleness,
As low as silence, languish;
Earth surely now may give her calm
To whom she gave her anguish.

O, poets! from a maniac's tongue
Was poured the deathless singing!
O, Christians! at your cross of Hope
A hopeless bard was clinging!
O, men! this man in brotherhood,
Your weary paths beguiling,
Groaned only while he taught you peace,
And died while ye were smiling!

And now, what time ye all may read
Through dimming tears his story—
How discord on the music fell,
And darkness on the glory—
And how, when one by one sweet sounds
And wandering lights departed,
He wore no less a loving face,
Because so broken-hearted.

He shall be strong to sanctify
The poet's high vocation,
And bow the meekest Christian down
In meeker adoration:
Nor ever shall he be in praise,
By wise or good forsaken;
Named softly, as the household name
Of one whom God hath taken!

With sadness that is calm, not gloom,
I learn to think upon him;
With meekness that is gratefulness
On God whose heaven hath won him—
Who suffered once the madness-cloud,
Towards his love to blind him;
But gently led the blind along
Where breath and bird could find him;

And wrought within his shattered brain,
Such quick poetic senses,
As hills have language for, and stars,
Harmonious influences!
The pulse of dew upon the grass,
His own did calmly number;
And silent shadows from the trees
Fell o'er him like a slumber.

The very world, by God's constraint,
From falsehood's chill removing,
Its women and its men, became
Beside him, true and loving!—
And timid hares were drawn from woods,
To share his home-caresses,
Up-looking to his human eyes
With sylvan tendernesses.

But while, in blindness he remained
Unconscious of the guiding,
And things provided came without
The sweet sense of providing,
He testified this solemn truth,
Though phrensy desolated—
Nor man, nor nature satisfy,
When only God created!

Like a sick child that knoweth not
His mother while she blesses,
And droppeth on his burning brow
The coolness of her kisses;
That turns his fevered eyes around—
"My mother! where's my mother?"
As if such tender words and looks
Could come from any other!

The fever gone, with leaps of heart
He sees her bending o'er him;
Her face all pale from watchful love,
Th' unwearied love she bore him!
Thus, woke the poet from the dream
His life's long fever gave him,
Beneath those deep pathetic eyes
Which closed in death, to save him!

Thus! oh, not *thus!* no type of earth
Could image that awaking,
Wherein he scarcely heard the chant
Of seraphs, round him breaking—
Or felt the new immortal throb
Of soul from body parted;
But felt *those eyes atone,* and knew
"*My* Saviour! *not* deserted!"

Deserted! who hath dreamt that when
The Cross in darkness rested,
Upon the Victim's hidden face
No love was manifested?
What frantic hands outstretched have e'er
Th' atoning drops averted—
What tears have washed them from the soul—
That *one* should be deserted?

Deserted! God could separate
From His own essence rather:
And Adam's sins *have* swept between
The righteous Son and Father—
Yea! once, Immanuel's orphaned cry,
His universe hath shaken—
It went up single, echoless,
"My God, I am forsaken!"

It went up from the Holy's lips
Amid his lost creation,
That of the lost, no son should use
Those words of desolation;
That earth's worst phrensies, marring hope,
Should mar not hope's fruition;
And I on Cowper's grave, should see
His rapture, in a vision!

SONNET TO J. M. K.

BY TENNYSON.

My hope and heart is with thee—thou wilt be
A latter Luther, and a soldier-priest
To scare church-harpies from the master's feast;
Our dusted velvets have much need of thee:
Thou art no Sabbath-drawler of old saws,
Distill'd from some worm-cankered homily;
But spurred at heart with fiercest energy
To embattail and to wall about thy cause
With iron-worded proof, hating to hark
The humming of the drowsy pulpit-drone
Half God's good Sabbath, while the worn-out clerk
Brow-beats his desk below. Thou from a throne
Mounted in heaven wilt shoot into the dark
Arrows of lightnings. I will stand and mark.

For character groweth day by day, and all things aid it in unfolding,
And the bent unto good or evil may be given in the hours of infancy;
Scratch the green rind of a sappling, or wantonly twist it in the soil,
The scarred and crooked oak will tell of thee for centuries to come. [*Proverbial Philosophy.*

Miscellany.

From "A New Spirit of the Age."

ALFRED TENNYSON.

"A haunting music, sole, perhaps, and lone
Supportress of the faery roof, made moan
Throughout, as fearing the whole charm might fade."—KEATS.

"Nor seeks nor finds he mortal blisses,
But feeds on the aerial kisses
Of shapes that haunt thoughts' wildernesses.
He will watch from dawn to gloom
The lake-reflected sun illume
The yellow bees in the ivy bloom,
Nor heed nor see what things they be:
But from these create he can
Forms more real than real man,—
Nurslings of immortality."—SHELLEY.

The poetic fire is one simple and intense element in human nature; it has its source in the divine mysteries of our existence; it develops with the first abstract delight of childhood, the first youthful aspiration towards something beyond our mortal reach; and eventually becomes the master passion of those who are possessed with it in the highest degree, and the most ennobling and refining influence that can be exercised upon the passions of others. At times, and in various degrees, all are open to the influence of the poetic element. Its objects are palpable to the external senses, in proportion as individual perception and sensibility have been habituated to contemplate them with interest and delight; and palpable to the imagination in proportion as an individual possesses this faculty, and has habituated it to ideal subjects and profoundly sympathetic reflections. If there be a third condition of its presence, it must be that of a certain consciousness of dreamy glories in the soul, with vague emotions, aimless impulses, and prophetic sensations, which may be said to tremble on the extreme verge of the fermenting source of that poetic fire, by which the life of humanity is purified and adorned. The first and second of these conditions must be clear to all; the last will not receive so general an admission, and, perhaps, may not be so intelligible to everybody as could be wished. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the poetic element, though simple and entire, has yet various forms and modifications of development according to individual nature and circumstance, and, therefore, that its loftiest or subtlest manifestations are not equally apparent to the average mass of human intelligence. He, then, who can give a form and expression to these lofty or these subtle manifestations, in a way that shall be the most intelligible to the majority, is he who best accomplishes the mission of a Poet. We are about to claim for Alfred Tennyson—living as he is, and solely on account of what he has already accomplished—the title of a true poet of the highest class of genius, and one whose writings may be considered as peculiarly lucid to all competent understandings that have cultivated a love for poetry.

It may be fairly assumed that the position of Alfred Tennyson, as a poet of fine genius, is now thoroughly established in the minds of all sincere and qualified lovers of the higher classes of poetry in this country. But what is his position in the public mind? Or, rather, to what extent is he known to the great mass of general readers? Choice and limited is the audience, we apprehend, to whom this favored son of Apollo pours forth this melodious song. It is true, however, that the public is "a rising man" in its gradual appreciation, perhaps, of every genius of the present time; and certainly this appreciation is really on the rise with respect to the poetry of Tennyson. It is only some thirteen years since he published his first volume, and if it require all this time for "the best judges" to discover his existence, and determine "in one way, and the other," upon some of his most original features, the public may be excused for not knowing more about his poems than they do at present. That they desire to know more is apparent from many circumstances, and partly from the fact of the last edition of his works in two volumes, having been disposed of in a few months. Probably the edition was not large; such, however, is the result after thirteen years.

The name of Alfred Tennyson is pressing slowly, calmly, but surely,—with certain recognition but no loud shouts of greeting,—from the lips of the discerners of poets, of whom there remain a few, even in the cast-iron ages, along the lips of the less informed public, "to its own place" in the stony house of names. That it is the name of a true poet, the drowsy public exerts itself to acknowledge; testifying with a heavy lifting of the eyelid, to its consciousness of a new light in one of the nearer sconces. This poet's public is certainly awake to him, although you would not think so. And this public's poet, standing upon the recognition of his own genius, begins to feel the ground firm beneath his feet, after no worse persecution than is comprised in those charges of affectation, quaintness, and mannerism, which were bleated down the ranks of the innocent "sillie" critics as they went one after another to water. Let the toleration be chronicled to the honor of England.* And who knows?—There may be hope from this, and a few similar instances of misprision of the high treason of poetry, that our country may conclude her grand experience of a succession of poetical writers unequalled in the modern world, by learning some ages hence to know a poet when she sees one. Certainly if we looked only to the peculiar genius of Tennyson, with the eyes of our forefathers, and some others rather nearer to our own day, we should find it absolutely worthy of being either starved or stoned, or as Shelley said of Keats, "hooted into the grave."

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If a matter-of-fact philosopher, who prided himself upon the hardness of his head, and an exclusive faculty of understanding actual things, were to apply to us for the signification of the word "Poetry," we could not do better than thrust into his hand, widely opened for the expected brick, one of Alfred Tennyson's volumes. His poetry is poetry in the intense sense, and admits of no equivocal definitions. The hard-headed realist might perhaps accept Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome," as good martial music, (with the help of a little prompting from a friend of some imagination,) or Mr. Henry Taylor's "Philip Van Artevelde," as excellent steady thinking; or a considerable portion even of Wordsworth's works as sound good sense, though in verse, (a great admission); but if he did not understand Tennyson's poems to be "Poetry," he would not be very likely to misunderstand them for anything else. The essence and element of them are poetry. The poetry of the matter strikes through the manner. The Art stands up in his poems, self-proclaimed, and not as any mere modification of thought and language, but the operation of a separate and definite power in the human faculties. A similar observation attaches itself to the poetry of Shelley, to the later productions of Keats, to certain poems of Coleridge. But Tennyson and Shelley, more particularly, walk in the common daylight in their "singing clothes;" they are silver-voiced, when they ask for salt, and say "Good-morrow to you" in a cadence. They each have a poetical dialect; not such a one as Wordsworth deprecated when he overthrew a system; not a conventional poetical idiom, but the very reverse of it—each poet fashioning his phrases upon his own individuality; and speaking as if he were making a language then, for the first time, under those "purple eyes" of the muse, which tinted every syllable as it was uttered, with a separate benediction.

Perhaps the first spell cast by Mr. Tennyson, the master of many spells, he cast upon the ear. His power as a lyrical versifier is remarkable. The measures flow softly or roll nobly to his pen; as well one as the other. He can gather up his strength, like a serpent, in the gleaming coil of a line; or dart it out straight and free. Nay, he will write you a poem with nothing in it except music, and as if its music were everything, it shall charm your soul. Be this said, not in reproach—but in honor of him and of the English language, for the learned sweetness of his numbers. The Italian lyrists may take counsel, or at once enjoy,

"Where Claribel low lieth."

But, if sweetness of melody, and richness of harmony be the most exquisitely sensuous of Tennyson's characteristics, he is no less able to "pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone," for certainly his works are equally characterized by their thoughtful grace, depth of sentiment, and ideal beauty. And he not only has the most musical words at his command, (without having recourse to exotic terminologies,) but he possesses the power of conveying a sense of color, and a precision of outline by means of words, to an extraordinary degree. In music and color he was equalled by Shelley, but in *form*, clearly defined, with no apparent effort, and no harsh shades or lines, Tennyson stands unrivalled.

His ideality is both adornative and creative, although up to this period it is ostensibly rather the former than the latter. His ideal faculty is either satisfied with an exquisitely delicate Arabesque painting, or clears the ground before him so as to melt and disperse all other objects into a suitable atmosphere, or aerial perspective, while he takes horse on a passionate impulse, as in some of his ballads which seem to have been panted through without a single pause.

* * * * * * * *

Alfred Tennyson may be considered generally under four different aspects—developed separately or in collective harmony, according to the nature of his subject—that is to say, as a poet of profound sentiment in the affections (as Wordsworth is of the intellect and moral feelings); as a painter of pastoral nature; and as the delineator and representer of tragic emotions, chiefly with reference to one particular passion.

With regard to the first of these aspects of his genius, it may be admitted at the outset that Tennyson is not the portrayer of individual, nor of active practical character. His characters, with few exceptions, are generalizations, or refined abstractions, clearly developing certain thoughts, feelings, and forms, and bringing them home to all competent sympathies. This is almost exclusively the case in the first volume published in 1830. Those critics, therefore, who have seized upon the poet's early loves—his Claribels, Lilians, Adelines, Madelines—and comparing them with real women, and the lady-loves of the actual world, have declared that they were not natural beings, of flesh and blood, have tried them by a false standard. They do not belong to the flesh-and-blood class. There is no such substance in them. They are creatures of the elements of poetry. And, for that reason, they have a sensuous life of their own; as far removed from ordinary bodily condition as from pure spirit. They are transcendentalisms of the senses; examples of the Homoric *eidwla*, or rather—if we may venture to trace the genealogical history of such fragile creatures—the descendants of those *eidwla*, as modified by the influence of the romantic ages. Standing or seated, flying or floating, laughing or weeping, sighing or singing, pouting or kissing, they are lovely underbodies, which no German critic would for a moment hesitate to take to his visionary arms; but we are such a people for "beef." We cry aloud for soul—we want more soul—we want to be inspired—and the instant anything is floated before our ken which might serve as an aerial guide to the Elysian Valley, or the Temple of the Spirit, then we instantly begin to utter the war-cry of "dreamy-folly!" "mystical-mystery!" and urged by the faith (the beef) that is in us, continue lowing for the calf, that surely cometh, but cannot satisfy our better cravings.

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In the description of pastoral nature in England, no one has ever surpassed Tennyson. The union of fidelity to nature and extreme beauty is scarcely to be found in an equal degree in any other writer. There may sometimes be a tone of color, and the sense of a sustained warmth in the temperature, which is rather Italian; and this is a peculiarity of our poets, who invariably evade notice or consciousness of the four seasons in each day, which is a characteristic of our climate. The version which all English poets give of "Spring," more especially, is directly at variance with what everybody knows and feels of that bitter season in this country. But allowing for this determination to make the best of what we have, no poet more closely adheres to nature. He is generally as sweet, and fresh, and faithful in his drawing and coloring of a landscape, as the prose pastorals of Miss Mitford, which is saying the utmost we can for a possessor of those qualifications. But besides this, Tennyson idealises, as a poet should, wherever his subject needs it—not so much as Shelley and Keats, but as much as the occasion will bear, without undue preponderance, or interfering with the harmony of his general design. His landscapes often have the truthful ideality of Claude, combined with the refined reality of Calcott, or the homely richness of Gainsborough. The landscape painting of Keats was more like the backgrounds of Titian and Annibal Carracci; as that of Shelley often resembled the pictures of Turner. We think the extraordinary power of language in Shelley sometimes even accomplished, not only the wild brilliancy of coloring, but the apparently impossible effect by words, of the wonderful aerial perspective of Turner, as where he speaks of the loftiest star of Heaven "pinnacled deep in the intense inane." But with Tennyson there is no tendency to inventiveness in his descriptions of scenery; he contents himself with the loveliness of the truth, seen through the medium of such emotion as belongs to the subject he has in hand. But as these emotions are often of profound passion, sentiment, reflection, or tenderness, it may well be conceived that his painting is of that kind which is least common in art. The opening of "Œnone" is a good example, and is a fine prelude to love's delirium, which follows it.

"There lies a vale in Ida, lovelier
Than all the valleys of Ionian hills.
The swimming vapor slopes athwart the glen,
Puts forth an arm and creeps from pine to pine,
And loiters, slowly drawn. On either hand
The lawns and meadow-ledges midway down
Hang rich in flowers, and far below them roars
The long brook falling through the clov'n ravine
In cataract after cataract to the sea."

* * * * * * * *

Though Tennyson often writes, or rather sings apparently from his own personality, you generally find that he does not refer to himself, but to some imaginary person. He permits the reader to behold the workings of his individuality, only by its reflex action. He comes out of himself, to sing a poem, and goes back again; or rather sends his song out from his shadow under the leaf, as other nightingales do; and refuses to be expansive to his public, opening his heart on the hinges of music, as other poets do. We know nothing of him except that he is a poet; and this, although it is something to be sure of, does not help us to pronounce distinctly upon what may be called the mental intention of his poetry.

Whatever he writes, is a complete work: he holds the unity of it as firmly in his hand, as his Œnone's Paris holds the apple—and there is nothing broken or incomplete in his two full volumes. His few "fragments" are entire in themselves, and suggest the remainder. But for all this unity of every separate poem produced by him, there is, or appears to be, some vascillation of intention, in his poetry as a mass. To any question upon the character of his early works, the reply rises obviously, they are from dream-land; and of the majority of those which he has since produced, the same answer should be returned. The exceptive instances are like those of one who has not long awakened from his Dreams. But what dreams these have been—of what loveliness of music, form, and color, and what thoughtfulness—our foregoing remarks have very faintly expressed and declared. In the absence of any marked and perceptible design in his poetical faith and purposes, Tennyson is not singular. It would be equally difficult to decide the same question with regard to several others; nor, perhaps, is it necessary to be decided. As the matter rests in this instance, we have the idea of a poet (his volumes in our hands) who is not in a fixed attitude; not resolute as to means, not determined as to end—sure of his power, sure of his activity, but not sure of his objects. There appears to be some want of the sanctification of a spiritual consistency; or a liability at intervals to resign himself to the "Lotos Eaters." We seem to look on, while a man stands in preparation for some loftier course—while he tries the edge of his various arms, and examines the wheels of his chariots, and meditates, full of youth and capability, down the long slope of glory. He constantly gives us the impression of something greater than his works. And this must be his own soul. He may do greater things than he has yet done; but we do not expect it. If he do no more, he has already done enough to deserve the lasting love and admiration of posterity.

Alfred Tennyson is the son of a clergyman of Lincolnshire. He went through the usual routine of a University education at Trinity College, Cambridge. He has brothers and sisters living, who are all possessed of superior attainments. Avoiding general society, he would prefer to sit up all night talking with a friend, or else to sit "and think alone." Beyond a very small circle, he is never to be met. There is nothing eventful in his biography of a kind which would interest the public; and wishing to respect the retirement he unaffectedly desires, we close the present paper.

*Oone exception, at least, should be noticed. In 1833, a philosophical criticism appeared on Tennyson, in the "Monthly Repository," written by W. J. Fox, which unhesitatingly recognises his genius.

From the New York Mirror.

FIFTY YEARS SINCE.

When Washington was President, his wife knit stockings in Philadelphia, and the mother made doughnuts and cakes between Christmas and New-Year; now the married ladies are too proud to make doughnuts, besides they don't know how, so they even send to Madame Pompadour, or some other French cake-baker, and buy sponge cake for three dollars a pound. In those days, New-York was full of substantial comforts; now it is full of splendid misery; then there were no gray-headed spinsters, (unless they were ugly indeed,) for a man could get married for a dollar, and begin house-keeping for twenty, and in washing his clothes and in cooking his victuals, the wife saved more money, than it took to support her.

Now, I have known a minister get five hundred dollars for buckling a couple, then wine, cake, and et ceteras, five hundred more—wedding clothes and jewels, a thousand—six or seven hundred dollars in driving to the Springs, or some deserted mountain, then a house must be got for eight hundred dollars per annum, and furnished at the expense of two or three thousand—and when all is done, his pretty wife can neither make a cake nor put an apple in a dumpling. Then a cook must be got for ten dollars per month—a chambermaid, a laundress, and seamstress at seven dollars each, and as the fashionable folly of the day has banished the mistress from the kitchen, those blessed helps aforesaid reign supreme, and while master and mistress are playing cards in the parlor, the servants are playing the devil in the kitchen—thus lighting the candle at both ends, it soon burns out. Poverty comes in at the door, and drives love out at the window. It is this stupid and expensive nonsense which deters so many unhappy old bachelors from entering the state of blessedness; hence you find more deaths than marriages.

From an Article on Daniel Webster, in the last North American.

The verbal honors of literature in this country, are lavished with a free hand. The mind of the nation is held responsible for all the mediocrity which rushes into print. Every thin poetaster, who wails or warbles in a sentimental magazine, is dignified with the title of an American author, and is duly paraded in biographical dictionaries, and "specimens" of native poets. Literary reputations are manufactured for the smallest consideration, and in the easiest of all methods. A *clique* of sentimentalists, for example, find a young dyspectic poet, and think they see in his murmurings a mirror which reflects the "mysteries" of our nature. Two or three excitable patriots are in ecstacies at discovering a national writer, when they bring forward some scribbler who repeats the truisms of our politics, or echoes the slang of our elections. These fooleries, it must be admitted, are not peculiar to this country. They are now practised in most civilized communities.—In England, a poem by Mr. Robert Montgomery, passed through eleven editions, attaining a greater circulation in a year or two, than the writings of Wordsworth had obtained in twenty. The art of puffing, an art which has succeeded in consummating the divorce between words and ideas, is the method employed on both sides of the Atlantic for effecting this exaltation of mediocrity.

For our own part, we deny that the swarm of writers, to whom we have adverted, are to be considered as the representatives of the national mind, or that their productions are to be deemed a permanent portion of our national literature. A great portion of the intellectual and moral energy of the nation is engaged in active life. Those who most clearly represent the spirit of our institutions, are those who are not writers by profession. If we were to make a list of American authors, a list which should comprehend only such as were animated by American spirit, we should pass over the contributors to the magazines, and the select men who lead representative assemblies, or contend for vast schemes of reform. We should attempt to find those who were engaged in some great practical work, who were appiying large powers and attainments to the exigencies of the times, and who were stirred by noble impulses, and laboring to compass great ends. The thoughts and feelings which spring warm from the hearts and minds of such men, in such positions, would be likely to possess a grandeur and elevation, before which the mere trifling of amateurs in letters, would be humbled and abased.

From the London Punch.

DIFFUSION OF SHAKSPEAREANITY AT COURT.

Our gracious Queen, as we briefly stated in our last, summoned a few nights since, Mr. Charles Kemble to Buckingham Palace, that he then and there might enter upon the goodly work of diffusing Shakspeareanity through the hearts and minds of the natives abiding within the royal precints; and we are happy to learn that, although Mr. Kemble found the greater number of the individuals in a very benighted condition in as far as related to their knowledge and appreciation of the ennobling qualities of the Great Teacher, they, nevertheless—the great defects of their education considered—evinced a degree of interest and aptitude, which Mr. Kemble believes may in good time be made to produce the very best fruits.

FROM CHARLES KEMBLE TO PUNCH.

MY VERY DEAR MR. PUNCH,—Delighted in the interest you have always manifested for the progress of literature and the arts, cherished and honered as they are by our beloved mistress, the Queen, I hold it to be no other than my duty to forward to you, and through you to the whole universe, the subjoined report of my labors up to the present time, at Buckingham Palace, for the diffusion of Shakspeareanity throughout the Court.

Her Majesty received me with the greatest cordiality, and Prince Albert, by the very attentive manner with which he listened to me, showed an example of decorum which I am sure was not lost upon the inferior people. He is evidently a young man of good natural understanding, although the unfortunate prejudices of his station may have hitherto caused him to neglect his Shakspeare for the more frivolous pursuits of rabbit-shooting and sitting for five hundred portraits. Nevertheless, the many questions he put to me respecting Shakspeare, namely, as to where the poet was born—whether he died married or a bachelor—whether he had really invented mulberries—with other curious interrogatives, all showed to me that the mind of the Prince was at least hungry for a better knowledge of the Moral Master. Indeed, I have every hope, from the interest already awakened in the royal breast, that Prince Albert will, in a short time, wholly renounce the idols of the Opera; and, as a most convincing proof of his belief in Shakspeare, sit out the *Petruchio* of Mr. Webster.

I shall now, Mr. Punch, proceed to give you a few cases, illustrative of my success in Queen Victoria's Court, heartily hoping that they will be multiplied ten thousand fold. For some charitable reasons, I suppress the names, giving only the occupation of my neophytes.

"A Maid of Honor, aged 23.—Had certainly heard of Shakspeare, when a little girl, and before she came to Court; but had seldom had her attention called to the subject since. Did not know where he was born. Believes he was dancing-master to Queen Elizabeth. Thinks she has heard it said that he was a low man and wrote very bad English; for that reason was advised never to hear him except in Italian at the Opera. Knew an opera called *Otello;* was sure she knew it, because Grisi and Lablanche played in it! Had certainly heard of the swan of Avon; believes that she once saw it in the Zoological Gardens. It was a white swan.

[I am very happy to inform you, Mr. Punch, that such has already been my success with this benighted young woman, that she has broken a very pretty plaster statuette of Rubini on her dressing-table, and every night takes her rest with the family Shakspeare under her pillow.]

"A Woman of the Bedchamber, aged 32.—Had heard of Shakspeare several times. Saw *The Murder of Macbeth* once; was sure it was *the Murder of Macbeth*, for a Charles Kean played the principal part. Never went to the play; no, never; that is, except on a royal visit, which was as good as never. Remembers to have seen Mr. Balfe's *Falstaff* at the Opera; liked it very well; but thought *Falstaff* at the play-houses only fit for low people. Remembers to have heard of *Romeo and Juliet* when a girl. Never looked into Shakspeare; it was not considered proper. Had seen General Tom Thumb three times; kissed him on each occasion. Once heard part of the *Tempest;* thought Caliban a disgusting creature; had seen and liked the Ojibbeways very much.

[I assure you, Mr. Punch, so great has been my influence over this darkened individual, that she has not visited the Opera this ten days, and, as a proof of her conversion to Shakspeare, has expresed herself ready to go even to the Victoria to endure him.]

"A Gentleman of the Bedchamber, aged 40.—Had heard of Shakspeare, but thought him a bore. Had seen *Hamlet* once; he didn't mean the silversmith, but *Hamlet* the Duke of Denmark; thought it very dull and unsatisfactory. What had *Hamlet* to complain of? Wasn't he a prince, with a devilish fine girl to marry, and all that? Thought there was no interest in *Hamlet;* liked something that touched the feelings; for instance, admired the *Maid and Magpie.*"

[Judge my delight, Mr. Punch, when, after only three interviews with this forlorn individual, he was found devouring Shakspeare raw, at the Pavilion.]

"An Equerry, aged 27.—Had, in his time, heard of Shakspeare: might have been a slap-up fellow in his day, but was too slow for these times. Once saw the *Merchant of Venice;* Old *Shylock* was a bill-discounter of the tribe of Levi. Never went to the play. Never missed Carlotta Grisi."

[This gentleman, after only two readings, dismissed twenty pictures of the pets of the ballet, from the walls of his bedroom, and promoted to his domitory a magnificent bust of Shakspeare.]

Such, Mr. Punch, are a few of my conversations at the Palace. As I proceed in my labors, you shall hear more: meanwhile, believe me,

Yours, with fervent admiration and respect,
CHARLES KEMBLE.

Garrick Club, May 7.

HINDOO FABLE.

There is a fable among the Hindoos, that a thief having been detected and condemned to die, though upon an expedient by which he might be rescued from death. He sent for the jailor, and told him he had an important secret to disclose to the King, and when he had done so he would be ready to die. The King sent for him, to know what this secret was. He told him that he knew the art of producing trees that should bear gold. The King, accompanied by his prime minister, courtiers, and priests, came with the thief to a certain spot, where they began their incantations. The thief then produced a piece of gold, declaring that if sown it would produce a tree, every branch of which should bear gold: "but," added he, "this must be put into the ground by a person perfectly honest. I am not so, and therefore pass it to your majesty." The King replied, "When I was a boy I remember taking something from my father, which, although a trifle, prevents my being the proper person. I pass it, therefore, to my prime minister." The latter said, "I receive the taxes from the people, and, as I am exposed to many temptations, how can I be perfectly honest? I therefore, give it to the priest. The priest pleaded the same as to his conduct in receiving the sacrifices. At length the thief exclaimed, "I know not why we should not all four be hanged, since not one of us is honest." The King was so pleased at the ingenuity of the thief that he granted him a pardon.

THE SLAVE-MARKET AT CAIRO.

I went to visit the slave-market, which is held without the city, in the court-yard of a deserted mosque. I was received by a mild-looking Nubian, with a large white turban wreathed over his swarthy brows, and a bernoose, or cloak, of white brown striped hair-cloth, strapped round his loins. He rose and laid down his pipe as I entered, and led me in silence to inspect his stock. I found about thirty girls, scattered in groups about an inner court. The gate was open, but there seemed no thought of escape. Where could they go, poor things! "The world was not their friend, or the world's law." Some of them were grinding millet between two stones, some were kneading the flour into bread; some were chatting in the sunshine, and some sleeping in the shade. One or two looked sad and lonely enough, until their gloomy countenances were lighted up with hope, the hope of being bought! Their faces were, for the most part, wofully blank—not the blankness of despair, but of intelligence; and many wore an awfully animal expression. Yet there were several figures of exquisite symmetry among them, which, if they had been indeed the bronze statues they resembled, would have attracted the inspection of thousands, and would have been worth twenty times the price that was set upon these immortal beings. The proprietor showed them off as a hose-dealer does *his* cattle, examining their teeth, removing their body-clothes, and exhibiting their paces. He asked only from twenty-five to thirty pounds sterling, for the best and comeliest of them. The Abyssinians are the most prized of the African slaves, from their superior intelligence; those of the Galla country, are the most numerous and hardy. The former have well-shaped heads, beautiful eyes, an agreeable brown color, and shining smooth black tresses. The latter have low foreheads, crisp hair, sooty complexions, thick lips, and projecting jaws. It was like the change from night to morning, passing from these dingy crowds to the apartments of the white slaves from Georgia and Circassia. It was not without some difficulty I obtained admission into this department of the human bazaar. Its commodities are only purchased by the wealthy and powerful Mussulmans, and many are bought upon commission. They fetch from one hundred and fifty, to three hundred pounds sterling; and, being so much more valuable than the Africans, are much more carefully tended. They reclined upon carpets, lightly, but richly clad. They were, for the most part, exquisitely fair; but I was disappointed in their beauty. The sunny hair, and heaven-blue eyes, that in England produce such an angel-like and intellectual effect, seemed to me here mere flax and heads.—*Dublin University Magazine.*

From the Gardener and Practical Florist.

EFFECTS OF CAMPHOR ON FLOWERS.

The stimulant effects of camphor upon vegetables are not only new, but astonishing in their nature. A piece of the woody stem of the tulip-tree, with one flower and two leaves, taken out of a pot of water, containing several other flowers of the same plant, all, to appearance, in the same state, was placed in eight ounces of water, which had been stirred up for some time with one scruple of good camphor. In a little while an unusually lively appearance became remarkable in the flower in the camphor; while the others, though they had the benefit of a larger quantity of water, were sensibly drooping. The two leaves first elevated themselves considerably on their footstalks, the flower expanded more than in a natural state; the stamina orchives receded from the pistillum; and the three leaves of the calyx, or flower cup, were remarkably reflected back, and grew extremely rigid and elastic. The internal surface of the flower perspired considerably, though a similar perspiration could not be perceived in the flowers of the same plant, in the same room and temperature. The camphorated plant continued in a very invigorated state for two whole days, after which it began to droop; but the leaves drooped and decayed sooner than the flower. The other flowers and leaves of the tulip-tree left in the simple water, did not live more than half as long as that in water impregnated with camphor.

THE MEXICANS.

Mr. Waddy Thompson, late American Minister to Mexico, made a speech at the public dinner given to him on his return to South Carolina:

"He spoke of the Mexicans as a polite, kind, and warm-hearted people. He had met with nothing at their hands but politeness and kindness, although the circumstances under which he first went to Mexico, had induced him to anticipate different reception. He should be ungrateful not to bear testimony to their many amiable qualities, and said that there was no other foreign people in whose prosperity and advances in the great career of civil liberty he felt an equal interest. Mexico was the first born of our revolution, and nobly and gallantly had she struggled for the establishment of institutions of which ours were the model. Her advances had already been great, and she possessed the elements of a great people. There was no country with which he would so much regret to see ours involved in a war; every consideration of duty, policy, and humanity forbade it; and he added, that although the Texas war had caused a good deal of exasperation against us, there was a very strong disposition to cultivate friendly relations with us; of this she had given repeated proofs."

INSTINCT OF PLANTS.—Observation shows that plants have hours devoted to rest, during which time they make little or no progress in growth. A curious proof of this statement was offered by an account of the experiments of a gentleman who had an artificial illumination kept up in his graperies throughout the night, and where this was done, the grapes ripened sooner by several weeks; but subsequent accounts informed us that the vines thus stimulated were much weakened. Some plants, like certain animals, have been ordained for night, and these, accordingly, are active only during those hours; the night-blowing Cereus is an example of this sort. Others that flourish and increase during the day, close their flowers, and frequently their leaves, remaining inactive throughout the night.—*Magazine of Science.*

A CHINESE NOTION—The Chinese have a notion that the soul of a poet passes into a grasshopper, because it sings till it starves!

Books,

For Sale at the Office of the American A. S. Society, 142 Nassau St. N. Y.

THE LIBERTY BELL of 1844, an Annual, published for the Massachusetts Fair, and consisting of various original articles, from the ablest Anti-Slavery writers in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.

XIMENA, AND OTHER POEMS, by *James Bayard Taylor.* Philadelphia, 1844.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES, or a true picture of the AMERICAN CHURCH AND CLERGY, by *S. S. Foster;* and various other standard Anti-Slavery works.

New-York, July 4, 1844.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations,* in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. There will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*
BROUGHTON MEADOWS,
Northampton, April 14, 1844.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent.* Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY O